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THE NEW EUROPE

THE NEW EUROPE

1789—1889

WITH SHORT NOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHIES, BIOGRAPHIES, DIAGRAMS, AND MAPS

BY

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INTRODUCTION

IT has been my object in this small book to put into a handy form a short narrative of the history of "The New Europe." There are many far greater works on this subject, and I have tried to make this account a simple introduction to some, the titles of which will be found at the end of every chapter; those marked with an asterisk being particularly recommended. The maps are merely to serve as guides to those students who have to draw, for examination or other purposes, sketches of campaigns or boundaries. The diagrams have proved useful in the past to many of my pupils, purely as an aid to visual memory. They are in no sense anything more than reminders of the subject of the previous chapter. I have endeavoured to give a very short biographical note concerning the most important foreign statesmen, soldiers, and thinkers; but I have not thought it necessary to include in this list members of royal houses; nor have I mentioned any Englishmen, as British biographies are easily ascertained.

I cannot send this book into the world without saying how deeply indebted I am to many kind friends for their valuable assistance; and especially to Mr. Philip Brown, of New College, who, besides reading and considerably revising my proof sheets, has contributed the greater part of Chapters I. and VIII. Mr. H. A. L. Fisher and Mr. L. J. Wickham-Legg, Fellows

of New College, Mr. C. T. Atkinson, Fellow of Exeter College, and Rev. M. Patterson, Fellow of Trinity College, have all kindly read through the proofs of different chapters in the book. Any mistakes that may still be left are entirely faults of my own. I must also take this opportunity of thanking Mr. R. S. Rait, Fellow of New College, for by his action the writing of this little work was made possible.

REGINALD W. JEFFERY.

OXFORD, 1910.

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THE NEW EUROPE

CHAPTER I

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AT HOME

1789–1799

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS OF MOST IMPORTANT NATIONS.

	Great Britain.	*Holy Roman Empire.*	*Prussia.*	*Russia.*	*Spain.*	*Sweden.*
1789.	George III. (since 1760)	Joseph II. (since 1765)	Frederick William II. (since 1786)	Catherine II. (since 1762)	Charles IV. (since 1788)	Gustavus III. (since 1771)
1790.	...	Leopold II.	...	...	...	...
1791.	...	...	...	...	...	Gustavus IV.
1792.	...	Francis II.	...	...	...	...
1796.	...	...	...	Paul I.	...	...
1797.	...	...	Frederick William III.	...	...	...

IMPORTANT DATES IN PREVIOUS HISTORY OF FRANCE.

1614. The Meeting of the States-General.
1622—42. The Period of Cardinal Richelieu.
1642—61. The Period of Cardinal Mazarin.
1661—1715. The Period of Louis XIV.
1734—60. The Period of Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Morelly, and Quesnay.
1774. The Accession of Louis XVI.
1776. The Declaration of American Independence.
1777. Necker became Minister of Finance.
1787. The Parlement goes into exile.
1788. The States-General summoned.

THE story of the French Revolution, together with its epilogue, the career of Napoleon, is from every point of view the most remarkable in the history of Modern Europe. It contains the most stirring incidents and some of the most fascinating and the most enigmatical characters. In dramatic quality it has no rival. It has inspired some of the greatest of modern historians to study it and to interpret its significance. But, beyond everything else, it is remarkable for its effects. The history of France down to the present day can only be understood by reference to the Revolution, and there is scarcely a race or nation in Europe which has not been profoundly affected.

The closing years of the eighteenth century found the nations of Europe divided into hostile camps : a legacy from the great wars of the earlier part of the century. Since 1756 France had been in alliance with Austria, and since 1761 with Spain. In 1788 England, Prussia and Holland joined in the Triple Alliance. At the same time Joseph of Austria prepared to assist Catherine of Russia in a scheme for despoiling Turkey as Catherine and Frederick had despoiled Poland. Prussia, exhausted by the strain of Frederick's policy, showed signs of declining vitality. England had suffered somewhat in reputation from the War of American Independence, and was devoting her energies, during Pitt's tenure of office, to domestic affairs. The tension and vigour of the mid century had temporarily subsided. But the key-note of political theory was the Balance of Power, and territorial aggrandisement was still the most powerful of motives in politics. Political morality in international relations remained at low ebb.

In domestic politics the period has been characterised as that of Benevolent Despotism. Several of the monarchs of Europe turned their attention to the amelioration of the lot of their subjects, though their methods differed widely from those of social reformers to-day, because attention to the organised opinion of the people as expressed through representatives formed no part of their programme. France felt the influence of the new ideas. Turgot, who was in charge of finance in 1775 and 1776, made a vigorous attack on some of the difficult problems which confronted the French Government. The most pressing of these arose from the constant deficits, due partly to the extravagance of the Government, partly to the faulty system of taxation. By the exercise of the strictest economy he was able to balance revenue and expenditure. With great difficulty he carried proposals for abolishing the royal *corvée* (forced labour on the roads), and some of the restrictions on internal trade. But his reforms brought him into collision with the interests of the Court and the nobility, and the King was induced to dismiss him. His successor, Necker,* was primarily a

* Jacques Necker (1732–1804); established the London bank of Thellusson and Necker, 1762; published *Essai sur le Commerce des Grains*, 1775; Director of the Treasury, 1776; Director-General of Finance, 1777; his *compte rendu* brought

financier. He attempted to restrict expenditure, and his experience enabled him to negociate loans. But his efforts at retrenchment were foiled by the outbreak of the war with England. The revolt of the American colonies provoked lively sympathy in France, and the Government joined the Americans in 1778. The successes of the French and their allies wiped out the record of failures in the earlier colonial wars, but in several ways the action of the Government accelerated the outbreak of the Revolution in France. The story of the achievement of liberty in America was an incentive to reformers in France, and some of the French nobles who crossed the Atlantic to assist the colonial revolution were to take the lead in the Revolution at home. The expenditure on the war completed the ruin of the finances; Necker tried to cut down expenses but he alienated the official class, and his *compte rendu*, by which he hoped to restore public confidence, gave the opponents of the Government the opportunity of criticising the methods of the administration. In 1781 he resigned, and was succeeded by lesser men who were incapable of staving off the financial disaster, which was openly predicted in Paris. In 1786 Calonne proposed that a radical reform should be undertaken, and an assembly of Notables was summoned for the following year. When it met, its members proved to be violently opposed to Calonne's measures which included a land-tax without exemptions. He was succeeded by Leomenie de Brienne, who placated the Notables, but met with stubborn resistance from the Parliament of Paris, a judicial body which had the privilege of registering the edicts of the executive. They refused to accept some of Brienne's proposals, and were exiled to Troyes. They returned again on the understanding that the edicts should be registered, but showed themselves intractable. During the debates there had been talk of summoning the States-General, a representative body, which had not met since the seventeenth century. As a last resource, it was determined that the States-General should be revived and should meet in May 1789. Brienne was shortly afterwards compelled to

about his dismissal, 1781; recommended the summoning of the States-General, 1788; dismissed on July 11th, 1789; recalled on July 14th; resigned September, 1790; retired to Geneva.

resign ; Necker returned to office and was immediately faced by two pressing questions. The States-General consisted of three orders : the nobles, the clergy, and the commons or third estate. What was to be the proportion of representatives? In the second place, were the three orders, when elected, to vote in common or separately ; to decide, that is, by a majority of the estates or by a majority of the deputies ? Necker yielded to the general demand that the third estate should have a number of representatives equal to that of the two other estates put together, but no official pronouncement was made on the other burning question. On May 5th, the States-General was opened in the royal palace at Versailles.

The *cahiers*, or statements of grievances, which the representatives brought with them from their electors show that popular criticism was directed to all parts of the political and social fabric. The occasion for the French Revolution was the financial deadlock, and the struggle between the States-General and the Government turned upon political questions. But it is most important to notice that the motives which underlay the popular demands were, very largely, social grievances. In mediæval times France had been governed by a system which gave to the nobility exclusive privileges, in return for their services in war and in local government. The movement towards centralisation, due chiefly to Richelieu and Louis XIV., gradually deprived the nobles of their powers, but left their privileges intact. The real difference between classes diminished ; the artificial differences remained. The nobles had been granted exemption from the *taille* and other taxes, because their contribution to the State was to serve in war. Land was then under a system of servile tenure. The nobles were responsible for their tenants, held feudal courts, supplied their own needs by contributions of labour or kind, and were jealous guardians of the rights of hunting and killing game. But by this time, all except the poor gentry had ceased to reside on their estates ; they were concentrated round the court. A great proportion of the land was held by peasant proprietors. The privileges remained, when their justification had vanished. The French peasantry were better off than some of their neighbours, but the empty forms of feudal

government were, for that reason, all the more irksome. Class division was rigid throughout France. It sundered the nobility from the unprivileged classes in town and country; and the aristocratic clergy who held most of the places of authority were equally far removed from the poor priests who carried on the service of religion, for which the exemptions from taxation had been originally bestowed.

The grievances were economic and social. The remedies proposed were political. During the eighteenth century the theory of political rights had progressed, and with it had appeared a movement of criticism, which, while it attacked the existing order of society, pointed the road to reform. These doctrines found some of their ablest exponents in France. The writings of Voltaire* reveal not so much the study of a man as of an epoch. His works undoubtedly marked the transition from the old to modern ideas, and he rendered very considerable services to the cause of intellectual freedom. The publication of his *Letters on the English* in 1734 was the starting point of an active warfare against the existing order of the State, the Church, and Society. Voltaire exposed the whole of his campaign in this short work, which well illustrates his brilliant wit and lucidity of style but also his lack of originality. After 1750 his diatribes became more and more virulent, but he always avoided pedantry or obscurity, and appealed to common sense and utility rather than to general principles. According to Voltaire, the English cry for liberty and property was, after all, the true cry of Nature. Although his influence was so far-reaching, yet, since he was so exclusive and so aristocratic, he must be looked upon as more of a conservative reformer than a revolutionist.

Some years before Voltaire's publication, Montesquieu †

* François Marie Arouet de Voltaire (1694–1778); *Œdipe* performed in 1718; in England 1726; wrote the *Henriade*; *History of Charles XII.* and the *Letters on the English*, 1729–30; after 1734 wrote *Merope*, *Mahomet*, *Treatise on Metaphysics*, *Siècle de Louis Quatorze*, *Les Mœurs et l'Esprit des Nations*, *Elements of the Philosophy of Newton*; *Princesse de Navarre* was performed in 1745; *Zadig* 1747; went to Berlin 1750; settled in Geneva 1755; *Candide*, 1756–9; while in Switzerland he wrote *Age of Louis XIV.*, *Russia under Peter the Great*, *Dictionnaire Philosophique*, a *Treatise on Toleration*, *Fragments on the History of India*.

† Charles de Secondat, Baron de la Brède et de Montesquieu (1689–1755); published *Lettres Persanes* in 1721; in England 1729–31; published *Causes de la Grandeur des Romains et de leur Décadence*, 1734; *De l'Esprit des Lois*, 1748; *Défense*

produced in 1721 the *Persian Letters*. This work was filled with the spirit of reaction against the rule and policy of Richelieu and Louis XIV. Montesquieu opposed a State which was governed by despotism and arbitrary power, and urged his countrymen to renew and invigorate their love of liberty. To modern ideas, his *De l'Esprit des Lois*, published in 1748, is somewhat disappointing, but at the time it contained much that was new, and exercised no small influence upon the great thinkers of France.

The teaching of Rousseau* differed from that of either Voltaire or Montesquieu. He is commonly believed to have exalted the state of Nature into a golden age, but this is only true of his *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*, first published in 1753. When, seven years later, he issued his *Social Contract*, he deserted his former reasoning, and emphasised the importance of preferring the civil state to the condition of mere Nature. To him the voice of the people was indeed the voice of God, and he thought that in the majority of free and equal citizens was to be found the general will, or will for the general good. He proclaimed a purely emotional new social gospel, a new religion of humanity. Side by side with the new sentimentalism came a new sceptical and rationalist philosophy. This was largely assisted by the Encyclopædists, such as Diderot,† D'Alembert,‡ and others, whose purpose was to inculcate mistrust of authority and confidence in human reason.

Opinion in the middle and upper ranks had been permeated with these and similar views. A great majority of the deputies were convinced of the need of attempting radical reforms, and both nobles and clergy showed themselves ready, on grounds of justice or expediency, to surrender some of their privileges. The appearance of unanimity vanished in the controversy over the method of voting, *par ordre* or

de l'Esprit des Lois, *Lysimaque*, *Arsace et Isménie*, and an essay on Taste in the *Encyclopédie* in 1750.

* Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778); published *Discourse on Arts and Sciences*, 1749; *Devin du Village*, 1753; *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*, 1753; *The New Héloïse*, 1760; *The Social Contract*, 1762; *Emile*, 1762; *Letters from the Mountain*, 1763; *Botanical Dictionary* and *Confessions*, when in England, 1766–7; *Rousseau juge de Jean Jacques*, 1770; *Rêveries du Promeneur Solitaire*, 1770.

† Dénis Diderot (1713–1784).

‡ Jean le Rond D'Alembert (1717–1783).

par tête. The power of the reformers to carry their plans into effect was limited by the wishes of the privileged classes, if the orders voted separately. Accordingly the commons took up a resolute attitude, and refused to proceed with the verification of powers, the preliminary to the practical work of the session, until the other orders should join them. On June 17th they took another step, constituting themselves the National Assembly and leaving the nobles and clergy to join them if they pleased. On the 19th the clergy decided to do so. Next day, June 20th, the hall was closed to the deputies on the plea that preparations were necessary for a Royal sitting. They adjourned to the neighbouring tennis court and there swore "never to separate until the Constitution of the kingdom is established." On June 23rd the Royal sitting actually took place. The King promised many reforms, but reproached the Assembly for its delays, forbade the discussion of some questions, and declared that the orders should meet separately and only unite on special occasions and by special permission. The Assembly was then bidden to dissolve into its separate units, but the third estate refused. "Bayonets can do nothing against the will of the people," cried Mirabeau. Sièyes assured them, "You are to-day what you were yesterday."

The excitement in Paris was now at its height, and was kept there by the vehemence of the Political Clubs. It was rumoured that the King would employ force. The rumour began to take upon itself the appearance of actual fact when the Swiss and German Guards were ordered to Paris; nor was the excitement in any way lulled, but rather fomented, by the dismissal of Necker on July 11th. Camille Desmoulins,* called upon the people to defend their liberties, and a collision took place between the mob and the regular troops. Paris was beginning to realise that the King was not to be trusted. On June 27th he had requested the nobility to join the commons, thus yielding on the main point at issue. But the Court party had regained their influence, as was shown by the dismissal of Necker; and the leaders of

* Camille Desmoulins (1760-1794); published *La Philosophie au Peuple Français*, 1788; *La France Libre*, 1789; *Discours de la Lanterne*, 1784; *Révolutions de France et de Brabant*, 1789-1792; *Histoire des Brissotino*, 1793; *Vieux Cordelier*, 1793.

the extremists determined to forestall them. On July 14th they demanded arms from the electors of Paris, who were sitting permanently at the Hôtel de Ville. Meanwhile the news had spread that the guns of the Bastille, the great fortress prison, were trained over the Faubourg St. Antoine. A series of deputations were sent from the Hôtel de Ville, and a crowd collected in front of the drawbridge. A few shots were fired by the garrison, apparently in panic ; and the commander, De Launay, then surrendered, but was murdered on his way to the Hôtel de Ville. Louis retracted his new policy of resistance, recalled Necker, and entered Paris on July 17th. The emigrations began. Like rats from a doomed ship the Royal princes and leaders of the Court party, who had tempted the king to provoke this outburst, scurried over the frontier.

Meanwhile, in Paris, efforts were made to establish order and to take precautions against similar disturbances in the future. A new municipality was instituted under Bailly,* who struggled to supply the capital with bread ; while at the same time the National Guard was formed under Lafayette,† who strove to attach this force to his person. The most serious dangers were the difficulty of providing food and the secret machinations of a clique, with whom the Duke of Orleans was suspected of co-operating. They were bent on instigating disturbances and preventing the popular agitation from dying down. The city remained in an unsettled state : the sacking of shops during the recent riots had disconcerted the citizens and showed the existence of the rabble which was to exercise so malign an influence at every crisis of revolutionary history. In the provinces the peasants refused to pay feudal dues, and, especially in the south-west, revenged old wrongs on such of the nobles as were in residence. More often the châteaux were ransacked

* Jean Sylvain Bailly (1736–1793); wrote *Histoire de l'Astronomie*, 1775–87; President of the National Assembly and Mayor of Paris, 1789; retired 1791 to Nantes and later to Melun, but seized and guillotined by the Jacobins.

† Marie Joseph Paul Roch Yves Gilbert Motier, Marquis de Lafayette (1757–1834); aided the American Colonists, 1777–82; he was a pronounced reformer in the Assembly of Notables, the States-General, and the National Assembly; he was driven from his command of the army by the Jacobins; was imprisoned in Austria; liberated in 1797; sat in the Chamber of Deputies, 1818–24 and 1825–30; commanded the National Guard in the Revolution of 1830.

for the records of serfdom and burnt to the ground. In the neighbourhood of towns the middle classes leagued together to maintain order and patrolled the country in arms.

The steps taken by the deputies in Paris under the influence of these disorders were not at all fitted to quell them. On the night of August 4th the Assembly passed a series of resolutions, by which, as their opening words declared, the feudal system was abolished. Duties representing serfdom were annulled and other burdens on land were made redeemable. Feudal rights of jurisdiction and exclusive sporting rights, the Church tithe, the *gabelle* and other taxes were, at one stroke, swept away. The nature of the change was out of all proportion to the haste with which it was made, and it could not be carried into effect without considerable delay. Meanwhile it was hard to expect the peasants to pay taxes which had been declared unjust or to respect an order of society which had passed sentence on itself.

From the first, acute observers, like Arthur Young and Mirabeau, had discerned defects in the Assembly which made it very ill-qualified to guide the State through a crisis. Instead of practical legislation, the Assembly fell into a somewhat aimless discussion on purely abstract subjects. The members were ever ready to reiterate with vehemence that they and the people of France were equal, sovereign, and free. It was in this spirit that they daily debated on that imposing but inconclusive *Declaration of the Rights of Man* which was finally published on August 27th. This declared, in a sweeping statement, that men had not only imprescriptible rights to liberty, property, and security, but also the right to resist tyranny. Virtue and talent were to be the sole distinctions by which men should be allowed to obtain office, for in other matters they were born equal and were equal in the eyes of the law. The liberty of the Press and liberty of worship were also declared the undoubted rights of all, and orders and corporations were swept away as tending to check these privileges. The settlement of the Constitution was also a vital question which had to be decided, and by an overwhelming majority the vote was given in favour of a single Chamber only. At the same time, owing to their jealousy of Royal power, and their con-

viction that the nation was the sovereign body, the King was deprived of his right of absolute veto.

Meanwhile Paris was becoming more and more a scene of anarchy and confusion. Debates, however learned, on concrete or abstract subjects, failed to provide food for a discontented people, who soon broke into open riots for bread. At the end of September the libels against the Court became more and more scandalous, while the story was spread broadcast that the King intended flight. Colour was given to the rumour by the appearance of the King and Queen at a dinner given on October 1st to the Régiment de Flandre, which had lately been added to the garrison at Versailles. In the toasts and speeches there were insults to the Assembly. It seemed that the King was preparing the way for escape. Meanwhile, there was the prospect of famine in Paris, and the women believed that the presence of the Royal family was the best guarantee that they would get food. They took the matter into their own hands, and on October 5th marched to Versailles. A deputation was received by the King. During the night the mob gained access to the palace. They were driven out by Lafayette, but the King had to consent to enter Paris, and on October 6th the mob marched back, bringing with them, as they boasted, "the baker, the baker's wife and the little baker's boy."

Mirabeau, who in October had prepared a memorandum on the future policy of the Court, aimed at forming a strong Ministry out of members of the Assembly. But Necker and Lafayette were suspicious, and rumours of Mirabeau's ambition penetrated to the Assembly. On November 7th it resolved that no member should hold an office under the Crown while retaining his seat or for six months afterwards. It was directed against Mirabeau, but its effect was to prevent Cabinet government on the English model, and to widen the rift between the Assembly and the Crown. The members were convinced that salvation was to be found in electoral contrivances, of which most of them may be said to have been passionately fond. In the winter of 1789 and 1790 a system of local government was adopted by which the old provinces of France were abolished and the country was divided into 83 nearly equal departments. These were then subdivided into 574 districts, each of which was

again split up into cantons, and these in turn were cut up into communes, so that the whole of France was composed of 44,000 of these communes or municipalities. Every division and subdivision had its own council and executive officers elected by the "active citizens," or those over twenty-five years of age, and paying the equivalent of three days' wages in annual taxes to the State. The local authorities themselves exercised unusual powers; assessed and collected taxes, controlled the use of the troops, and were charged with sale of the Church lands. The lack of clear distinction between the authority of the department and the commune caused friction especially in Paris. The weakness of the Executive's control was more serious. It had no local representatives, while the local authorities could appeal against its action to the National Assembly. The judicial system suffered from a similar defect. It was constituted, in accordance with the theory of equality, on the elective principle; litigation was made more accessible and the law was freed from some barbarous anachronisms. But the judges, while they had little to hope or fear from the Central Government, depended for their offices on public opinion and were subject to its influence.

The franchise, on which the whole superstructure of central, local, and judicial machinery rested, was not itself in accord with Article 6 of the Declaration of the Rights of Man. That article declared that all citizens should share in the formation of law and be eligible for office. But the definition of "active citizen" involved a property qualification.

The application of theoretical principles to the administration of the army and the navy very nearly ruined the Assembly. They desired, and rightly, to remedy the well-known abuses that had existed for so many years in both services. The immediate outcome of the Revolution had been disaffection, and in some cases open mutiny; and, if possible, these lapses from strict discipline were more frequent in the army than in the navy. The officers' pay was absurdly high, while the soldiers received proportionately little. The nobles' monopoly of the upper ranks was a serious defect. But during the preceding twenty-five years improvements had been effected, and the Republic was to owe a part of the credit for her victories to the reforms of the *ancien*

régime. At first the army was loyal, although the King's surrenders to the mob diminished their respect for him. During the summer of 1790 the ranks were leavened with revolutionary opinions and the rift between officers and men was widened. At last the Assembly awoke to their own danger and that of all France, when a severe outbreak of mutiny was reported from Nancy in the August of 1790. Steps were immediately taken, and Bouillé,* with the National Guard, reduced the rebellious regiments to order with exemplary severity. Emigration began to drain the army of officers, especially after the flight to Varennes. The policy of throwing open the commissioned ranks allowed men of ability to mount rapidly from the bottom to the top of the ladder. But the theory of Equality weakened discipline: the soldiers obtained the right to form associations, to appeal to the civil magistrates, and even to the Assembly itself. Before the victories of the Revolutionary war were possible the army had to be brought under control by the great Committee of Public Safety.

Bad as had been the Assembly's action with regard to the army, it was almost worse in its dealings with the Church. The lower clergy had shared the enthusiasm of the people for the Revolution. The country *curés* were for the most part recruited from the ranks of the poorest class, differing only from their relatives in the ascendency afforded by superior education. Some of these men were members of the Assembly and had thrown themselves into the work of reform. In the autumn of 1789 all Church property was declared to belong to the State, and in the following February the monasteries and religious houses of every kind were suppressed and their property confiscated. On July 12th, 1790, the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was decreed. The sees of the bishops were made coterminous with the recently formed departments, and the bishops were elected by the secondary electors. Every parish was to have one priest, who was also elected and whose income was increased as that of the bishop was decreased. The State was responsible for the

* François Claude Amour, Marquis de Bouillé (1739–1800); fought in the war, 1756–1763; earned distinction in the West Indies, 1778; commander of the Army of the East, 1790; tried to assist Louis to fly, 1791; forced to leave France; served in the Swedish army; died in London.

salaries, and residence was made obligatory. All the clergy must take the oath to the (yet unborn) Constitution. The Pope was to receive only a formal notice of election. It was inevitable that the Assembly should take some steps to deal with so important a part of the fabric of old France. There was very little demand for the disestablishment of religion. It was partly the ideal of an independent Gallican Church, and the tradition of the Jansenists, of whom there were a number in the Assembly, which decided the treatment of the question. The King was induced to accept the new Constitution on August 26th. The result was a schism between the "Constitutional" clergy and those who refused to take the oath. Gradually the area of conflict widened and the execution of the law was merged in a general persecution of the Church.

The seizure of Church property had been largely caused by the necessity of raising funds. The food supply of Paris had cost very large sums and Necker failed to raise even temporary resources by loans. It was calculated that the Church estates if sold would realize four hundred million francs, but by March, 1790, it was found that they were not selling fast enough, and only £18,000 worth had found purchasers. The Assembly determined to make over portions of the land to the different communes, and these were to sell them, if possible, at a handsome profit. In the meantime, as the finances of France were utterly rotten, it was decided to issue four hundred million francs of assignats to act, at first, as merely a temporary convenience to tide over an extremely difficult period. Assignats were notes representing a given amount of land which the holder could realise by application. They were made legal tender, but it was soon proved that the difficulty was not to be overcome so easily; the very existence of the paper checked the production of good money. The sale of Church property continued to be as slow as before. The municipalities, with happy ignorance, accepted the assignats at their nominal value, while clever speculators did their utmost to bring about their depreciation. It is not surprising, therefore, that within a few months the Assembly was just as deeply embarrassed as it had been previous to the introduction of the scheme. The fatal step on the downward financial path had been

taken, and in September, 1790, eight hundred million more assignats flooded the market. The result was disastrous; nothing could now stop the hurried rush to calamity. By June, 1791, all the assignats had been spent. Throwing prudence to the winds, the Assembly again issued six hundred million more, which went the way of the other two batches. With the depreciation the rage for speculation increased, and the unrest and feverish excitement which already existed were fanned by the new spirit of financial gambling which seized every class from end to end of France. The Assembly was no more successful in other matters of finance. It willingly sacrificed those forms of indirect taxation which democracies are always prone to dislike, but whenever it was possible they retained those indirect taxes which they hoped might escape public attention. The members entered upon financial affairs with the confidence of ignorance and failed completely in every direction. They not only made no allowance for extra burdens, but their attempts to balance their receipts and expenses were ludicrously inadequate.

But the members of the Assembly are not to be despised. They struggled manfully, though without experience, to gain for Frenchmen political liberty and personal freedom. By means of a Constitution they hoped to accomplish much, and although it was not the "stupendous and glorious edifice of liberty," as described by Charles James Fox, yet it was equally undeserving of the title bestowed upon it by Marie Antoinette, who called it "a tissue of absurdities." Arthur Young, with the prejudice of an Englishman, wrote "making the Constitution, which is a new term they have adopted as if a Constitution was a pudding to be made from a recipe," but he forgot that the French people had no long series of precedents from which a Constitution could naturally evolve; and although Burke said that the French had "pulled down to the ground their Monarchy, their Church, their Nobility, their Law, their Revenue, their Army, their Navy, their Commerce, their Arts, their Manufactures," still they had made a determined effort to produce something that would give them freedom from oppression and equality in the eyes of the law.

Unfortunately, the spirit of unrest was merging into the

more dangerous spirit of disorder. At Nîmes and Montaubon there was such serious agitation that it amounted almost to civil war. At Lyons and at Marseilles there were exciting scenes of bitter conflict; while everywhere there was a general feeling of insecurity. There can be no doubt that this want of good governance, together with the lack of security, either personal or territorial, brought the Jacobins to the front. The rise of the Jacobins was entirely due to marvellous organization, and it stands out on the pages of history as a famous example of such methods. The leading Jacobins were not members of the lower class, but were for the most part professional men like Robespierre,* Danton,† and Camille Desmoulins. Nor was the club originally composed of extremists. But the admission of the public to debates gave authority to the more violent speakers, and the moderates seceded. In the autumn of 1790 the Jacobin Club of Paris published a newspaper which had immense effect, and, before the winter, was able to report the existence of 120 provincial clubs affiliated to the central society in the capital. Within two years it was calculated that there were no fewer than 26,000 of these clubs scattered through the numerous communes of France.

In the face of so many dangers, disaster seemed inevitable. Its delay may justly be attributed in part to the marvellous personality of the Comte de Mirabeau. He had been born in 1749, and during the early part of his life had more than once been obliged to fly from his country. Four years before the outbreak of the Revolution he had been in England, where he was the friend of most of the leading Whigs of the day, and imbibed a lasting reverence for the English Constitution. During the preliminary meetings in Provence in 1788, Mirabeau had been rejected by the noblesse, so that in the spring of the following year, having offered himself to the Third Estate, he was elected for both Marseilles and Aix, and sat in the States-General for the latter. Much to the annoyance of Mounier, an acute observer and one who played an important part in the early scenes of the Revolution, Mirabeau

* Maximilian Marie Isidore Robespierre (1758–1794).

† Georges Jacques Danton (1759–1794).

became still more conspicuous, and soon took the lead, believing firmly and wisely in the necessity of a strong and capable executive in touch with the popular desires. He it was who consolidated the National Assembly and pointed out the futility of abstract declarations. He saw that the hopes of France lay in the King's choice of a minister, and he did his best to win the confidence of his Sovereign. He failed, however, because of the bitter opposition of the Queen, the arrogance of Lafayette, and the pusillanimous conduct of Necker. He was, besides, suspected of complicity with Orleans in the events of October 5th and 6th. At one time he appears to have had serious thoughts of setting up the Duke of Orleans, but he found the prince too weak, too unprincipled, and too wedded to a life of indolence and pleasure. Throughout he was working strenuously for the good of his country, and he felt very strongly that, if only the King could be removed from Paris to some place a short distance away, a Constitutional Monarchy might then be established, firmly based upon the affections of the nation and the idea that the King and the people of France were one and indivisible. Mirabeau's schemes were destined to be ruined by the hostility of the Queen, prolonged until the critical moment was passed ; and by the decree of November 7th, which kept the executive and legislature entirely apart. Even after this last event he continued to have hope, and was in constant communication with the Court. He boldly pointed out to the King that his plan of a counter-revolution was "dangerous, criminal, and chimerical." He told him very plainly that his only hope was to act in cordial co-operation with a still existing body of loyalists who were ready to carry out reform. He urged the King to withdraw from Paris, but not beyond the border. He saw that it would be fatal to appeal to the allies against France, but he believed that the royal provinces would rally to the King. As late as December, 1790, he presented to the Court the most complete and weighty of his memoranda, in which he urged it to concentrate its efforts on two objects : the discrediting of the existing Assembly and the election of another which should have full powers to reform the Constitution. Carlyle says "had Mirabeau lived the history of France and the world had been different" ;

but it is idle to speculate now whether his busy schemes would have succeeded, for he was cut off before they could be fulfilled. The golden opportunity for action was lost, and with Mirabeau's death on April 4th, 1791, the last hope for the ancient Monarchy of France was extinguished, for, as he himself said, "When I am gone they will know what the value of me was. The miseries I have held back will burst from all sides on France. I carry in my heart the funeral pall of the French Monarchy; the dead remains of it will now be the sport of factions."

France did indeed become "the sport of factions," and Mirabeau's death opened the way for Robespierre and the Jacobins. By the summer of 1791 Robespierre, at one time a lawyer and judge in Arras, became a person of great influence in the Assembly. The powerless King had lost his one supporter, and by June 20th, unable to bear the strain any longer, he made an attempt to reach the frontier. He was, however, stopped at Varennes and ignominiously brought back to Paris as a virtual prisoner. Louis XVI. could hardly have foreseen the important results of his ill-advised action. He was provisionally suspended, and for the first time men realised the feasibility of a Republic without even a titular monarch. It was at this moment that Danton, working in touch with Robespierre and the enthusiastic Desmoulins, clamoured ardently for the deposition of the King. As yet the Constitutionists were sufficiently strong to resist this measure, but they soon found that they had to meet the menacing demands of the Parisian mob. These demands were made clear by a huge meeting on July 17th in the Champ de Mars. Its object was the dethronement of Louis, and it was lashed into fury by the torrent of burning rhetoric that poured from Marat* and Desmoulins. The members of the Parisian municipality, understanding that the Assembly disapproved of the meeting, determined to break it up by force of arms. The ill-feeling towards the King was

* Jean Paul Marat (1743–1793); published *Philosophical Essay on Man*, 1773; *The Chains of Slavery*, 1774; visited Edinburgh, 1775; published *Plan de Législation Criminelle*, 1780; translated Newton's *Optics*, 1787; wrote *Dé couvertes sur la Luminière*, 1788; established a paper, *L'Ami du Peuple*, 1789; murdered by Charlotte Corday, July 13th, 1793.

thus only fomented by the serious loss of life which occurred.

Two months before this the Assembly had completed its work. It was declared in May that no member of the existing Assembly should be allowed to elect or sit as a deputy in the forthcoming Assembly. The King, at his wits' end, accepted the Constitution on September 14th, and three weeks later the Assembly solemnly dissolved itself, after doing its best to obtain what seemed both right and just.

With the acceptance of the Constitution all France ought to have realized that the *ancien régime* had gone for ever, but the Queen and her Court seemed incapable of understanding the seriousness of the situation. The country, too, was unfortunate in having no really supreme political genius to take the helm, and at the same time being nominally ruled by a King who had given his promise to his people and was asking help from the King of Prussia against them. The new Constitution cannot be classified as inherently bad, but it was impossible to work for lack of workers. The land was still hopelessly divided, and a great gulf yawned not only between the noble and the peasant, but also between the dispossessed officials and the ardent reformers.

The Legislative Assembly as created by the Constitution met for the first time on October 1st. It consisted of a single House of 740 members, all of whom were strong Revolutionaries, though varying in character. The Right was given up to defenders of the Constitution as ratified by the King. They were guided by the pompous Lafayette, and they depended upon the support of the Club of the Feuillants. They were eminently respectable, and had behind them the great mass of the middle class and well-to-do tradespeople, besides the important but somewhat uncertain support of the National Guard. The Left was divided into two parts, the Girondists and the extreme Jacobins. At first the Girondists were by far the most powerful, and were distinguished for their ability, eloquence, and zeal. Their most famous speaker was Vergniaud,* and they were led by Brissot,† the editor of

* Pierre Victurnien Vergniaud (1753–1793).

† Jean Pierre Brissot (1754–1793); published *Théorie des Lois Criminelles*, 1780; *Bibliothèque des Lois Criminelles*, 1782–86; and established *Le Patriote Français*.

Le Patriote Français, Madame Roland,* who dreamed of a republic on an antique model, and Sieyès,† who advocated moderation and concealment of their methods. They were, in general, far too ready to avail themselves of the popularity of extreme language and proposals, and only checked their headlong course when they found the weapon which they hurled against Monarchy in turn directed against themselves by the Jacobins. It was into the hands of this latter party that the Revolution passed. It looked for support to Robespierre and the Jacobin Club, to Danton and Camille Desmoulins, who swayed the recently formed Club of the Cordeliers, and the wildest fanatics, who urged extremist measures upon the Parisian mob.

The Legislative Assembly at once found that it had to bear the burdens created by its predecessor. By no means the lightest of these was the difficulty caused by the Civil Constitution of the clergy. The imposition upon all ecclesiastics of an oath of fidelity to the Constitution was undoubtedly one of the greatest of the many blunders that had been made by the well-intentioned Assembly. The *curés* were, on the whole, extremely popular, and at the beginning of the trouble had been thoroughly in accord with the revolutionary movement. They were now driven into opposition, and many of the best priests refused to take the oath and became the non-jurors of France. The bishops endeavoured to excite the people against the Civil Constitution, and they terrified many by declaring that the sacraments and the marriage ceremony were null and void if the officiating priest had taken the oath to the State. They even went so far as to say that those who attended the services conducted by these "Intruders" were themselves guilty of a mortal sin. These addresses had the effect of exasperating their opponents, and religious disturbances continued to add fresh horrors to the sufficiently cataclysmal state of France. The Girondists were strongly against the non-jurors, and on November 29th, 1791, by means of a decree, deprived them of their pensions and of the right of officiating in the Church service. The

* Marie Jeanne Phlipon (1754–1793); married Jean Marie Roland de la Platière in 1780.

† Emanuel Joseph, Comte de Sieyès (1748–1836).

King, with some strength, vetoed this act, but, nothing daunted, a fresh decree was passed on May 27th, 1792, ordering the banishment of the non-jurors. The King again refused to pass this fresh decree, and for the time being things were left as they were.

The Assembly had now another difficulty with which to contend: the attitude of the *émigrés*. The flight of the nobles from France was not only cowardly, but politically weak. They might have stemmed the tide, or at least so supported their Sovereign as to retain the semblance of Monarchy on a limited basis. Instead they appealed to foreign powers to do the work which was really their own business, and their action led to those massacres of all suspected of complicity with them, in which the Reign of Terror had its origin. The *émigrés* fled for the most part beyond the Rhine and established themselves at Coblenz, under the King's brother. Their appeal to the petty German princes did not fall upon idle ears, for the Germans knew only too well that their own people might at any moment be seized with a desire to emulate the deeds of their French neighbours. At the head of all was Leopold of Austria, the Holy Roman Emperor and the brother of Marie Antoinette. He was most anxious to preserve peace, but was deeply interested in the fate of the French Royal house; both for family reasons and because it was the chief prop of the tottering Franco-Austrian alliance. In August, 1791, therefore, he met Frederick William of Prussia in conference at Pilnitz. They very wisely rejected the demands of the Comte d'Artois for warlike assistance against the party of the Revolution; but they unfortunately issued the "Declaration of Pilnitz," stating that if all the European powers agreed the Emperor and the King of Prussia would take action in French affairs.

The Girondists were eager for war as the fulfilment of the Revolution. The edict of November 9th recalling the *émigrés* under threat of confiscation and death was vetoed by the King, but he consented to the despatch of notes demanding a disavowal of their cause and the disbanding of the armies on the French frontier. The Girondists knew, however, that Austria would hardly do this at their command. This party, after March, 1792, were under

the leadership of Roland, Minister of the Interior, and Dumouriez,* to whom foreign affairs had been entrusted. Louis XVI. was forced by the latter to propose to the Assembly on April 20th a declaration of war against Leopold. As will be shown in another chapter, the French troops at the beginning of the war fled in panic, but these disasters only excited the mob to still further acts of violence, and after the dregs of Paris had been armed the Royal family were subjected to the grossest insults. These culminated, on June 20th, in an attack upon the Tuileries, and the King himself, surrounded by armed ruffians, was compelled to don the red cap of liberty. This roused the Constitutionists for a brief space, and Lafayette hastened from the frontier to the capital, thinking that the moment had come for his personal intervention. But the Assembly criticised his action. His visit was a failure and the moderate party lost ground.

From this moment the deposition of the King could only be a matter of time. The crisis was hastened by the manifesto, published by Brunswick, the Prussian commander, on July 27th, in which he threatened Paris with reprisals in case the Royal family suffered at its hands. It was determined to force the Assembly to take extreme measures, and, as usual, the Paris mob was the instrument chosen. On the night of August 9th the Marquis de Mandat, commander of the National Guard, after taking every precaution to protect the King, was murdered at the Hôtel de Ville. The Swiss Guard, whose heroism gave to a scene of horror some signs of moral splendour, were butchered, and their master together with his family took refuge with the Assembly. The Terror had begun, and 284 members, in the absence of the rest, hastily suspended the King and sent him with Marie Antoinette and the Dauphin as prisoners to the Temple. The civil list was suspended, Danton was appointed Minister of Justice, and a National Convention was summoned to meet without delay. Thus fell the ancient Bourbon Monarchy, and thus rapidly did France become a republic.

The man who had been largely responsible for all these sudden changes was Danton, the hero of Carlyle, who speaks

* Charles François Dumouriez (1739–1823); commandant of Cherbourg, 1778; commandant of Nantes, 1790; distinguished military career, 1792–93; denounced as a traitor; finally settled and died near Henley-on-Thames.

of him as "a gigantic mass of valour, ostentation, fury, affection, and wild revolutionary manhood." He was of a Herculean type, but lacked spiritual characteristics and nobility of purpose, for he regarded any measures justifiable as long as they were useful to the revolutionary cause. He has been called the Mirabeau of the populace. He lacked seriousness, he was too heedless of his own position, and in his later days he became inert and lethargic. He differed in every way from his contemporary and rival Robespierre, for he was without question bolder, of a stronger character, and far more capable of initiation. It was because of these latter characteristics that he was now able to raise Paris to superhuman efforts against the allied army which had crossed the Rhine and was steadily converging on the capital. This advance exasperated the French and created a panic, which exhibited itself in an outburst of brutality in Paris. Danton was the heart and soul of the government, which was practically in the hands of the Commune. He was supported by Robespierre, Chaumette,* Billaud-Varennes,† Hébert,‡ and others. It was determined that the safety of Paris demanded extreme measures against the enemy without and within the walls. A system of domiciliary visits was instituted to search for traitors, and it was made a capital offence to refuse the summons to arms. When the news reached Paris, on the night of September 3rd, that Verdun had fallen and that the enemy might be expected to march straight on the capital, the massacres began. The prisons, which were crowded with suspects, were cleared by a butchery in which several thousands perished. Danton must bear, and indeed accepted, a great deal of the responsibility for the outrage. It was part of a deliberate policy of extreme measures. "De l'audace, encore de l'audace, toujours de l'audace, et la France est sauvée."

On September 20th Dumouriez checked the Prussians' advance on Paris; and upon the day following this, the first success of the Revolutionary arms, the Convention met. It began by abolishing the Monarchy and declaring France a republic; and it determined to symbolise the beginning of

* Pierre Gaspard Chaumette (1763–94).
† Jean Nicolas Billaud-Varennes (1756–1819).
‡ Jacques René Hébert (1755–94).

a new era by making September 22nd the first day of the year I. The alteration in the calendar was carried out in 1793, when the year was divided into twelve equal months of thirty days each. Sunday was abolished, but a day of rest was instituted in every ten days. The names of the months were radically altered, the three autumn months being called Vendémiaire, Brumaire, Frimaire ; in the winter there were Nivôse, Pluviôse, and Ventôse ; the spring was divided into Germinal, Floréal, and Prairial ; while the summer months were to be known as Messidor, Thermidor, and Fructidor.

Of the 749 members that went to compose the Convention, all may be said to have been Republicans, though those on the Right, or Girondists, were not so extreme as the members on the top benches of the Extreme Left, who, from their elevated position, came to be called the Mountain. It consisted of the leading members of the Commune, and in addition to those already enumerated there were Camille Desmoulins and Marat. Between these two parties there was the Plain, insignificant in character because composed of men of great timidity, yet not unimportant if they could be won to either side. It was in this National Convention that the great struggle was fought out between the Mountain and the Gironde. The latter, under their leaders Vergniaud, Brissot, and Pétion,* repeatedly reproached Danton, Robespierre, and Marat with the massacres of September. They favoured some Federal system which would give a share of power to the provincial districts where their strength lay. But the sections of Paris were fervently Jacobin, and these governed the city and, by their presence in the galleries, intimidated their opponents in the Convention.

Intoxicated with their unexpected good fortune, the Republicans issued the decrees of November 6th and December 15th by which they arrogantly ruptured international law by throwing open the Scheldt to commerce, and by declaring that, wherever the French armies penetrated, they would proclaim the sovereignty of the people and the abolition of all existing privileges and authorities. But this widespread policy was not enough to satisfy the fanaticism of the Mountain, who, though strenuously opposed by the

* Jérôme Pétion de Villeneuve (1753-94).

Girondists, decided on December 2nd that the King should be tried by the Convention. This was, in fact, a direct scheme for discrediting the Gironde. The result of such a trial before such bloodthirsty judges was a foregone conclusion. The King's guilt was stated to have been already decided by his deposition. It was pointed out that a dethroned monarch was dangerous to the Republic. Barère was president of the trial and read the charges, of which the most important concerned his appeal to foreign powers and the flight to Varennes. The unhappy King was defended by Malesherbes,* Trouchet, and Desèze. The Girondists were culpably feeble in their resistance. If they had led the way the Plain might have followed. On January 15th voting began. Louis was declared guilty, an appeal to the people was rejected, and a bare majority voted for the death penalty; among them was Vergniaud. On January 21st the sentence was executed. Louis XVI. suffered for the sins of his ancestors; his personal character was greatly superior to that of his predecessor, and at times he showed spirit and nobility. But he was unintelligent, irresolute, obstinate; defects which aggravated his misfortunes and the difficulties of his adherents.

The results of the execution of Louis Capet were of world-wide importance. The war was renewed with increased vigour and was joined by most of the powers, including England, but excluding Russia. With regard to the internal affairs of France the crisis was followed by a temporary lull in the serious conflict with the Gironde. This was not, however, to last for long. While Condorcet and his friends were busy with the preparation of a new Constitution, Marat and Robespierre were bent on destroying their opponents, and Danton, though drifting away from their policy, still acted with them. The Girondists had failed utterly to substantiate the numerous charges they had brought against the Mountain, while their lack of experience and of definite policy caused disintegration in their own ranks. Above all, they had been most foolish in allowing their enemies to be re-elected for the Commune. Their fall was averted for the

* Chrétien Guillaume de Lamoignon de Malesherbes (1721–1794); President of the Cours des Aides, 1750; banished, 1771; recalled, 1774; travelled, but came to Paris to defend the King.

moment by the fact that it was necessary for the Convention to take active steps to resist the new coalition. This meant fresh demands for men and money, which caused a royalist reaction in La Vendée. The people broke into open rebellion against the authorities in Paris and, under Cathelineau,* Stofflet, and La Rochejaquelein,† were determined to resist the Revolutionaries. This rising, together with the success of the allied armies, forced the Mountain to renew their attacks upon the Gironde. With the haste that marked nearly every action of the Revolution, a series of extreme measures was passed; the property of all emigrants was confiscated; and a Committee of Public Safety, consisting of nine members, was given almost dictatorial authority. In May the extremists began to organise secretly. The Convention appointed a committee of twelve to investigate the behaviour of the Commune. They were intimidated and quashed the committee, but next day recovered their resolution and restored it. Again they were compelled to retract, and finally on June 2nd Henriot,‡ the commander of the National Guard, led an army of revolutionaries to the Tuileries, where the Convention was forced to proscribe the members of the Commission and the leaders of the Gironde. Some were executed, some died in hiding, some escaped; as a party they were extinguished. Some of them were men of force and eloquence, and a great many were sincere advocates of liberty and the Republic, but their action in the face of the greater crises of their career condemns them. They showed themselves vacillating, dilatory, afraid of their own opinions, and it seems clear that some of them attempted to save themselves by voting for the death of the King.

The results of the fall of the Gironde were far more terrible than could have been foreseen. France became utterly chaotic; fifty departments rose in open rebellion against the Parisian authorities; the important towns of Lyons, Marseilles, Toulon, and Nîmes declared against the Convention. In the north, there were distinct signs that the people desired the restoration of monarchy, while in

* Jacques Cathelineau (1759–93); his greatest exploit was the storming of Cholet.

† Henri, Comte de La Rochejaquelein (1772–94); killed at Nouaillé.

‡ François Henriot (1761–94).

La Vendée the horrors of civil war were unabated. With the disappearance of the Girondists power passed into the hands of the Jacobin leaders. In June they promulgated a new Constitution which never came into effect; but a month later they carried out a more important work by remodelling the so-called Committee of Public Safety. It was divided into sub-committees and organised the war and the administration of finances as well as the correspondence. Control was in the hands of Robespierre, Couthon,* and Saint-Just,† together with four men of rising importance, Billaud-Varennes, Collot d'Herbois,‡ Barère,** and Carnot.†† The power of these men had been considerably augmented by the retirement of Danton and the murder of Marat by Charlotte Corday ‡‡ on July 13th, as an act of vengeance for the fall of the Gironde.

On August 23rd a *levée en masse* was ordered by which the whole nation, men, women, and children, were to be employed in some way to assist France against her enemies. The Jacobins also passed the "law of the maximum," by which they enacted a maximum price for provisions, raw materials, and nearly all manufactured goods. Their most abominable act was reserved for September 17th, when the "law of suspects" authorized the Revolutionary Committees throughout France to throw into prison all who showed themselves in favour of monarchy or against the supremacy of the authorities in Paris. The prisons of France were crammed, and the pressure was only relieved by the daily executions which increased as the months went by. Carlyle says "the guillotine gets always a quicker motion as other things are quickening." On October 16th Marie Antoinette went to the scaffold with a courage that in some ways redeemed the frivolity of her past life. Her influence on the course of the Revolution is hard to define. As repre-

* Georges Couthon (1756–1794).

† Louis Antoine Léon Florelle de Saint-Just (1767–1794); published *L'Organe*, 1789; *L'Esprit de la Révolution*, 1791; particularly fierce against Louis XVI.

‡ Jean Marie Collot d' Herbois (1751–1796); published *Almanach du Père Gérard*, 1792; died in Cayenne.

** Bertrand Barère de Vieuzac (1755–1841); the "Anacreon of the Guillotine."

†† Lazare Nicolas Carnot (1753–1823).

‡‡ Marie Charlotte Corday d'Armans (1768–1793); of noble family but an advocate of revolution.

sentative of the Austrian alliance she had been a factor in increasing the unpopularity of the Court. She had received an insufficient education, and her lack of judgment made many enemies ; at one time she seemed to symbolise all that the people most hated in the *ancien régime*. She was suspected of communicating the plans of the Government to Austria. On the other hand, Mirabeau thought so highly of her abilities that, in the face of constant repulses, he persisted in his endeavour to induce her to take him into confidence, and called her "the only man among them." She was soon followed by Madame Roland ; by twenty-three leaders of the Gironde ; by the once omnipotent Madame Du Barry * ; by the brilliant rhetorician Vergniaud ; by Brissot, the Girondist leader ; by Barnave † ; by that wretched renegade Philippe Egalité ; by Bailly, who as Mayor of Paris had once tried to feed the mob ; by Houchard, who had led his troops with courage. All of these, and many less-known heroes, paid the penalty of standing in the way of Robespierre's schemes. Edmund Burke spoke the truth when he said "out of the murdered monarchy in France has arisen a vast unformed spectre in a far more terrific guise than any which ever yet have overpowered the imagination and subdued the fortitude of mankind." The Terror spread from Paris to the farthest corners of France. The unhappy peasants of La Vendée found their royalist movement stamped out in blood. Carrier at Nantes in 1793 did his best to fulfil his own words, "we will make France a cemetery rather than not regenerate it in our own way." The insurgent towns of the south, in particular Toulon and Lyons, were treated with the same most horrible cruelty.

The power of the few, naturally, tended towards factious divisions, and the Mountain was broken up into cliques and parties. Danton had sickened of the awful bloodshed far sooner than many of his old confederates. He led a party of moderation, and was assisted by Camille Desmoulins. For the Republic in its best sense Desmoulins had been ready to sacrifice all his scruples, but he now attempted

* Marie Jeanne Vaubernier, Comtesse Du Barry (1741–1793) ; favourite of Louis XV.

† Antoine Barnave (1761–1793) ; an advocate of moderate courses.

in his *Vieux Cordelier* to recall the Government to mercy and moderation. With feverish activity he attacked the dictatorial rule of the Terrorists, and demanded that a Committee of Mercy should be formed to pacify all parties and inspire hope among all ranks. His work had enormous effect upon public opinion, but it caused his expulsion from the Jacobin Club, in which he had previously placed his hopes for the formation of a Republic. Opposed to Danton and Desmoulins was Hébert's party, which was that of the Commune. Its power rested on the Paris mob and its organ *Le Père Duchesne* openly advocated the destruction of religion. It was this faction that celebrated in November the "Feast of Reason" in Notre Dame. But these corrupt creatures, in particular Hébert, Chaumette, and Anacharsis Cloots, had on this occasion reached the high-water mark of their ascendency, and the orgies which marked their triumph were the beginning of their decadence. This was partially due to their tyranny, licence, and brutality, but in particular to the strongly-worded protests of Robespierre, who was firmly opposed to all atheistic principles. In the definite attack on Hébert's party, which took place on November 21st, Danton threw his weight on the side of Robespierre and said, "I demand that there shall be an end of these anti-religious masquerades." The alliance continued for some months, and by its means the Hébertists were finally crushed, and their leaders, Hébert, Chaumette, and Cloots,* were guillotined on March 15th, 1794.

Robespierre, having found Danton useful in accomplishing that important work for which he was needed, now determined to destroy him and his party. That great revolutionary remained inert, for he was weary of these unending conspiracies, and disdained to defend either himself or his colleagues. It was hardly likely that he depended on Robespierre's late friendship, for he must have known that Robespierre would never allow a matter of mere friendship to interfere with his own ascendency. Saint-Just began the attack by threatening

* Jean Baptiste du Val de Grâce, Baron Cloots (1755–1794); born at the château of Gnadenthal near Cleves; published *Certitude des Preuves du Mahométisme* (London, 1780); *Base Constitutionnelle de la République du Genre Humain*, 1793.

all moderates and by saying, "We are guilty towards the Republic because we do not desire terror." Danton was implored by his friends to protect himself, but he answered, "My life is not worth the trouble; I am sick of the world." On March 30th he was arrested with his allies; and on April 5th they were all sent to the guillotine. Danton was deeply responsible for the September massacres, which supplied so fatal a precedent for revolutionary Paris. He had few scruples and, where he might have intervened, he was sometimes content to acquiesce through indifference. But he was a great orator and organiser, and his character was sturdy, simple, and far more sympathetic than that of any of his colleagues.

Robespierre was now the most conspicuous figure in France. He was a self-deceiver, and was, indeed, so successful that it must be admitted that he honestly persuaded himself to believe that his acts were in accordance with virtue. He was, too, determined always to be in the ascendant, always to be on the winning side. He was suspicious and jealous to the highest degree; plagued by nervous tension so that nothing was too innocent for him to distrust. In his earlier life he had been both humble and narrow-minded; in his later years he became an inflated fanatic, but his narrowness of vision still remained. With Couthon and Saint-Just he formed a supreme triumvirate. While they ruled, from March to June, 600 persons were guillotined, including Princess Elizabeth, Malesherbes and his family, and all members of the legislative and constituent assemblies who had made themselves in any way conspicuous. In May the Supreme Being was recognized by the Convention, which was merely the preliminary to the extraordinary festival held in June and carried out upon truly classical lines. At this meeting Robespierre appeared at the head of the assemblage; he walked alone, some five yards in front of his colleagues; he was attired in gorgeous robes, bearing in his hands both corn and flowers. The spectators were divided in opinion as to whether this meant a usurpation of the throne of France or the introduction of a milder *régime*. Their hopes were soon dissipated by Robespierre's own words: "People, let us to-day give ourselves up to the transports of pure delight. To-morrow we will renew our struggle against vice and against

tyrants." The struggle was indeed renewed with greater violence by the fiendish decree which was actually proposed by Couthon on the 22nd Prairial (June 10th). By this infamous law prisoners were no longer to be tried singly, but in batches ; they were deprived of the privilege of counsel for defence ; and their guilt was left entirely to the biased judgment of a packed jury. Under this iniquitous scheme no fewer than 1,300 persons were guillotined in the next six weeks. This is an everlasting and incontrovertible proof that Robespierre was anxious to continue the Terror, which he spoke of with praise and respect when he said : " Terror is only justice more prompt, more vigorous, more inexorable, and therefore Virtue's child."

No sooner had Robespierre reached this position in power, and also in sentiment, than he with Couthon and Saint-Just found that they were regarded with hatred and jealousy on every side. The majority of their colleagues began to look at them askance and show a terror of their incorruptible leader. His position, therefore, came to be very uncertain, and his only hope would have been in a bold attack. It was, however, the want of initiation and formation of a bold policy that showed Robespierre to be lacking in true statesmanship. He had readily and successfully taken advantage of the cunning schemes of Hébert or Danton, but to inaugurate any form of attack was beyond his capacity. After June 10th he began to absent himself from the Convention ; he walked much alone, plotting and planning schemes that were always elusive and refused to become practical. And this man who now paced the fields around Paris with a meditative air, seeing possibly the doom to which he had sent so many coming upon himself, was after all the same man who had resigned his judgeship at Arras rather than sentence a fellow-man to death. As July progressed Robespierre's position became less and less tenable. The justification of the Terror, as a desperate remedy in a supreme crisis, had been removed by the victories of the French armies, and the working members of the great committees who had organised those victories found his theories an obstacle to business. Billaud said that Robespierre and his *être suprême* had begun to bore him. Then, on 8th Thermidor (July 26th, 1794), Robespierre made a speech in which he attacked certain traitors

in the committees, without mentioning names. It was a general menace ; every one feared for his own safety ; and, next day, they resolved on a counter-blow. Robespierre was first denounced by Vadier,* and then by Joseph Cambon, who cried, " It is time to speak the whole truth ; one man paralysed the resolution of the National Assembly ; that man was Robespierre." The Jacobin Club still stood by their leader and cheered him to withstand the attack. The meeting of the 9th Thermidor was stormy indeed, for Robespierre attempted again and again to speak, but his voice was drowned by the discordant yells and thunderous cries of his enemies. Robespierre, Couthon, and Saint-Just were then arrested, but having broken from their prison, they took refuge with their few supporters in the Hôtel de Ville. But this was a mere respite ; the Convention controlled the armed force of the city, and the three unhappy men were again arrested. Robespierre was found shot through the jaw. On the 10th Thermidor at 5 in the evening Robespierre, Henriot, Couthon, and Saint-Just ascended the death-cart, around which a boisterous and exulting crowd jeered.

Robespierre's character has remained an enigma. There is evidence that, in early life, he was a man of unusual humanity and sensibility. He professed very strong democratic principles and came forward as a champion of religion in an age when the character was not fashionable. He seems to have cherished great though vague ambitions, but it is clear that the most powerful motive of evil within him was jealousy of colleagues or rivals. He was accused by his contemporaries of hypocrisy, but he certainly had strong principles of a kind, and honestly hated both licence and irreverence. He was far too boastful of his own virtues ; thus he said, " I have never bowed beneath the yoke of baseness and corruption " ; and owing to this arrogance he increased neither his popularity nor his reputation. He had, indeed, been part of the Terror, and with his execution it naturally came to an end. Reaction at once began, although the men who had accomplished the downfall of the triumvirate were in many cases far worse than even Robespierre himself. The very principles of the Terror now passed away ; the Committee of Public Safety was remodelled ; the

* M. G. A. Vadier (1736–1828).

Convention again resumed the reins of government ; the law of the 22nd Prairial was abolished. The Commune was now swept away ; the prison doors were thrown open ; hundreds of prisoners were set free ; and by the end of August the old Terrorists, such as Collot d' Herbois and Billaud-Varennes, were forced to retire. The independence of the Press began to revive, and Jacobin opinion was the object of attack. The Jacobin Club, a centre of intrigue, was closed, and the Jeunesse Dorée, a society of the young *bourgeois*, carried on a guerilla warfare against the Jacobins in the clubs and cafés. Carrier,* the vile supporter of the Terror in Nantes, was executed on the 16th of December ; and an amnesty was granted to the unhappy district of La Vendée. In the winter an attempt was made to improve the finances of France, but this entirely failed, for the time was not yet ripe, and the evil done in the last four years could not be remedied in a single moment. About the same time the Assembly took into consideration the harsh laws against the emigrants ; while in February, 1795, freedom was granted to all forms of religious opinion. Still further political toleration was shown on March 8th, when sixty-three survivors of the Gironde, who had been expelled in October, 1793, were reinstated in their seats in the Assembly. Carnot remained to organise the army. But other members of the Great Committee were not re-elected. New names appear ; among them Merlin of Douai † and Treilhard ‡ But these men, like their predecessors, could not make money, nor could they find bread for the starving mob. It was, indeed, this starvation, rather than any pressure of political intrigue, that caused the people to rise on the 12th Germinal (April 1st). On the other hand, the rising on the 1st Prairial (May 20th) was solely due to the discontented Jacobins, whose agents had continued to preach on behalf of the recently crushed principles. This was suppressed two days later by a strong cavalry and infantry force under General Menou.§ The old Terrorists were disarmed, six deputies of the Mountain were executed, the National Guard was reorganised, and the Jacobin power destroyed for ever.

* Jean Baptiste Carrier (1756–1794) ; in 1793 he massacred 16,000 Vendéans.
† P. A. Merlin de Douai (1754–1838) ; a celebrated lawyer.
‡ J. B. Treilhard (1742–1810).
§ Baron J. F. Menou (1750–1810).

In October, 1795, the old Convention, whose history had been so saturated with blood, came to an end. In June the Constitutional Committee had recommended plans for a new Constitution. These were modified by the decrees of Fructidor (August 18th, 1795) so as to ensure a majority of Conventionalists. This Constitution received the sanction of the Primary Assemblies, but Paris rose in the last desperate protest of Vendemiaire, which was suppressed by Barras and Bonaparte. The Corps Législatif was to be elected indirectly, on a property qualification. It consisted of two houses : the Conseil des Anciens, numbering 250, with an age minimum of forty, elected from among its own members by the Conseil des Cinq Cents, which contained 500 deputies who were to be at least thirty years old. One third of each of these bodies was to retire annually, and the members were to be elected by all males of full age paying taxes. Above these two chambers there was an executive of five Directors. They were selected by the Anciens from a list prepared by the Cinq Cents. But, in the first instance, they were to be in no sense the people's free choice. By the decrees of Fructidor two thirds of the original Corps Législatif must be drawn from the old Convention. One Director was to retire annually. They were all in touch with the revolutionary methods, for they were all regicides. To Rewbell * was given the administration of justice, finance, and foreign affairs. La Revellière † was to govern all matters concerning the internal politics of France. The police was put into the hands of Barras ‡ ; Letourneur had the management of the Colonial Office and the navy ; while Carnot showed considerable organizing ability. They had to set the finances in order, curtail expenditure, and restore credit. To the expenses of the war were now added the depredations of the Directors themselves. Assignats, of which twelve milliards were issued, continued to lose value, as did the *mandats territoriaux* by which they were replaced, until in February, 1797, the State demonetized the 35 milliards then in circula-

* J. F. Rewbell (1746–1810).

† La Revellière de Lépeaux (1753–1824).

‡ Paul Jean François Nicolas, Comte de Barras (1755–1829); one of the first members of the Jacobin Club; practically dictator in 1797; lived abroad 1799–1815.

tion. The Directors suffered also from the disturbed state of public opinion. In 1796 they were obliged to take strong measures to suppress a Socialist plot under Babeuf * ; while, after this, they had not only to pacify the country, but continue a war against the Great Powers of Europe.

The war, as will be shown, was carried on with the greatest success in Italy by Napoleon Bonaparte between 1796 and 1798, nor were Joubert,† Masséna,‡ and Augereau § any less triumphant in their different campaigns. But this continuous prosperity in war did not make matters any more settled in Paris. By the May of 1797 two parties had arisen. The Constitutional party, called Clichians, from their meeting place at the Club de Clichy, was in a majority. Some of its members, among them Boissy d'Anglas and Pichegru, desired the immediate repeal of the revolutionary laws. Another section was in favour of compromise and a gradual process of reform. The party of the Conventionalists, on whom Barras, Rewbell, and La Revellière relied, were outvoted. Letourneur, the retiring Director, was replaced by Barthélemy, who acted with Carnot in opposition to Barras. The deadlock between Executive and Legislature was solved by violence. In September Augereau, who had been despatched by Bonaparte to support Barras, completed a *coup d'état* the outcome of which was the arrest and exile of Barthélemy,‖ Carnot, and 53 deputies. Merlin of Douai and François de Neufchateau¶ were now added to the Directory, and the five obtained absolute power.

Bonaparte had been opposed to the Clichians. But he had little reason to trust the Directors, and the scope of his ambitions, as well as his cynicism, had been much enlarged by his Italian experience. Having seen his enemies and rivals safely removed, he was furious that he was not appointed commander-in-chief, but that Augereau should be given that post

* François Noel Babeuf (1762–1797); editor of *Tribun du Peuple;* was an advocate of Communism.

† B. C. Joubert (1769–1799).

‡ André Masséna (1758–1817); the greatest of Napoleon's marshals.

§ Pierre François Charles Augereau (1757–1816); fought at Lodi, Castiglione, Roveredo, Jena, Eylau, and Leipzig.

‖ François, Marquis de Barthélemy (1750–1830).

¶ François de Neufchateau (1750–1828).

on the death of Hoche.* Besides all this, Bonaparte was attempting to conduct negotiations with Austria entirely upon his own lines, and as he, by his brilliant campaigns, had made those negotiations possible, he resented the interference of the Directors. Seeing, therefore, the necessity of his presence in Paris, he hurried on the Treaty of Campo Formio in October, 1797. The time, however, was not ripe for him to strike. After a brilliant reception in Paris, he started upon his Egyptian schemes, which proved utterly abortive. In May, 1799, he furtively left Egypt with the intention of gaining supreme power at home. He found Emanuel Sieyès at the head of the Directory plotting to withdraw the Constitution of 1795. This man had originally looked to Joubert and Bernadotte,† but later turned to Bonaparte. On November 9th the two Councils were induced to remove to Saint-Cloud. The Directors resigned or were imprisoned ; the Ancients acquiesced ; the Five Hundred, after a stormy scene in which Lucien Bonaparte distinguished himself by his cool resolution, were expelled from the hall. In the evening a few returned and decreed a provisional government by three Consuls.

The Directory had thus come to an end. Its failure was largely due to the fact that the foundation of the Constitution was fundamentally wrong. For a period of obvious transition so rigid a system was impossible. The separation of the Legislature and the Executive had inevitably led to quarrels, especially in 1797, when the legislative body had endeavoured to encroach upon the rights of the Directory.

There were other reasons for its fall. The members of the Directory were divided amongst themselves. They had lost irretrievably the confidence of the bulk of the people. Their prestige, resting chiefly on foreign successes, had dwindled with the failures of 1799. Of the generals, whose exploits had redeemed the Government from ignominy, many were estranged. The finances were in disorder, and the bankruptcy of 1797 seemed to have disorganised credit without extricating the State from its embarrassments. The middle classes were alienated by the incompetence of the adminis-

* Lazare Hoche (1768–1797).

† Jean Baptiste Jules Bernadotte (1764–1844) ; afterwards Charles XIV. of Sweden.

tration ; justice and order had not been secured by the multiplication of machinery and officials. The peasants, eager to take advantage of improved conditions of agriculture, resented the conscription and the constant pressure of taxation as well as the religious persecution. The Terror, which the Directors were to have ended, seemed perpetually renewed. Frenchmen were weary of the Revolutionary creed and vocabulary and in love with other ideals.

The members of the Consulate, in which the government was vested, were Sieyès, Bonaparte, and Ducos.* Sieyès proposed a most complicated system. At the head was to be a body of three men: a Great Elector, to be purely ornamental, and two Consuls. The Senate was to be elected for life and to have the power of vetoing measures that had previously been initiated by a Council of State, discussed by a tribunate, and accepted or rejected by a legislative body. Five hundred thousand men were to be elected, from whom municipal officers were to be chosen, and these were to select 50,000 officials of departments, who were in turn to chose 5,000 for legislation. Bonaparte was quite ready to accept all the complicated items, but he resolutely opposed the Great Elector and the two Consuls. He insisted that he should be the first Consul, and the other two his advisers. Sieyès, naturally annoyed at this usurpation of power, refused to hold any office if he could not have supreme authority. This had no effect, and the Consulate was proclaimed as Bonaparte desired, his colleagues being Cambacérès,† a lawyer, and Lebrun,‡ late secretary to Chancellor Maupeou.§

Bonaparte had won his position in Italy and the East. He reappeared as the champion of the Republic against the degenerate Directors. It was not hard to oust them, and the man who did so became, in effect, the ruler of France. This was readily acquiesced in by a nation weary of bloodshed and internal bickering. They welcomed him with enthusiasm, not only as a great general,

* Roger Ducos (1754–1814); advocate.

† Jean Jacques Régis de Cambacérès (1753–1824); his *Projet de Code Civil* was the basis of the *Code Napoléon.*

‡ Charles François Lebrun, Duke of Piacenza.

§ Nicolas Augustin de Maupeou (1714–1792), Chancellor of France 1768.

but as the one strong man who could give them peace. They did not realize, or, at any rate, shut their eyes to the fact, that he had attained his position by greed, acts of violence, and breaches of the Constitution. They failed to see that he was bound to maintain that position by being absolute, despotic, and indifferent to all party and, possibly, all patriotic requirements. On the other hand, they obtained the benefits of order and regularity in all departments of the State. Although the system has been said to have paralyzed the national spirit, yet it gave to Frenchmen equality in the eyes of the law and secured to numerous purchasers the national property, which had been for some years held upon a precarious title.

Here the Revolution vanishes for the space of forty years from French history. It may be true, as Napoleon believed, that the French nation cared very little for liberty and equality, and very much more for honour. But the record of liberties achieved is not mean. Hereditary privilege, economic and political, and the absolute monarchy, unrelated to public opinion, have not been restored. The struggle with Europe, and the influence of the Paris mob, corrupting and corrupted, shattered the ideals of reconstruction. But, in revenge, France sent sparks of the Revolution flying across the frontiers.

NOTES AND DIAGRAMS

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Willert	*Mirabeau.*

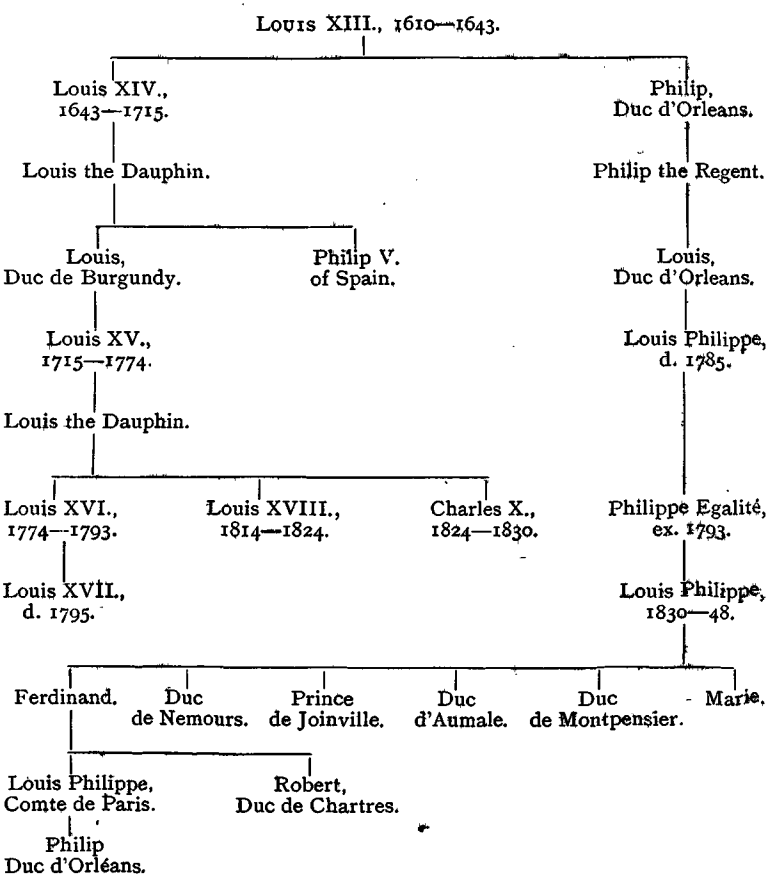
CONTEMPORARY EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

1789. George III. recovered from his insanity.

1790. The Convention with Spain after the quarrel about Nootka Sound.
Burke's "*Reflections on the French Revolution.*"

1791. Burke and Fox quarrel.
The Ambassador of Great Britain was recalled from Paris.
Society of United Irishmen founded.

PEDIGREE OF THE BOURBONS.



CHAPTER II

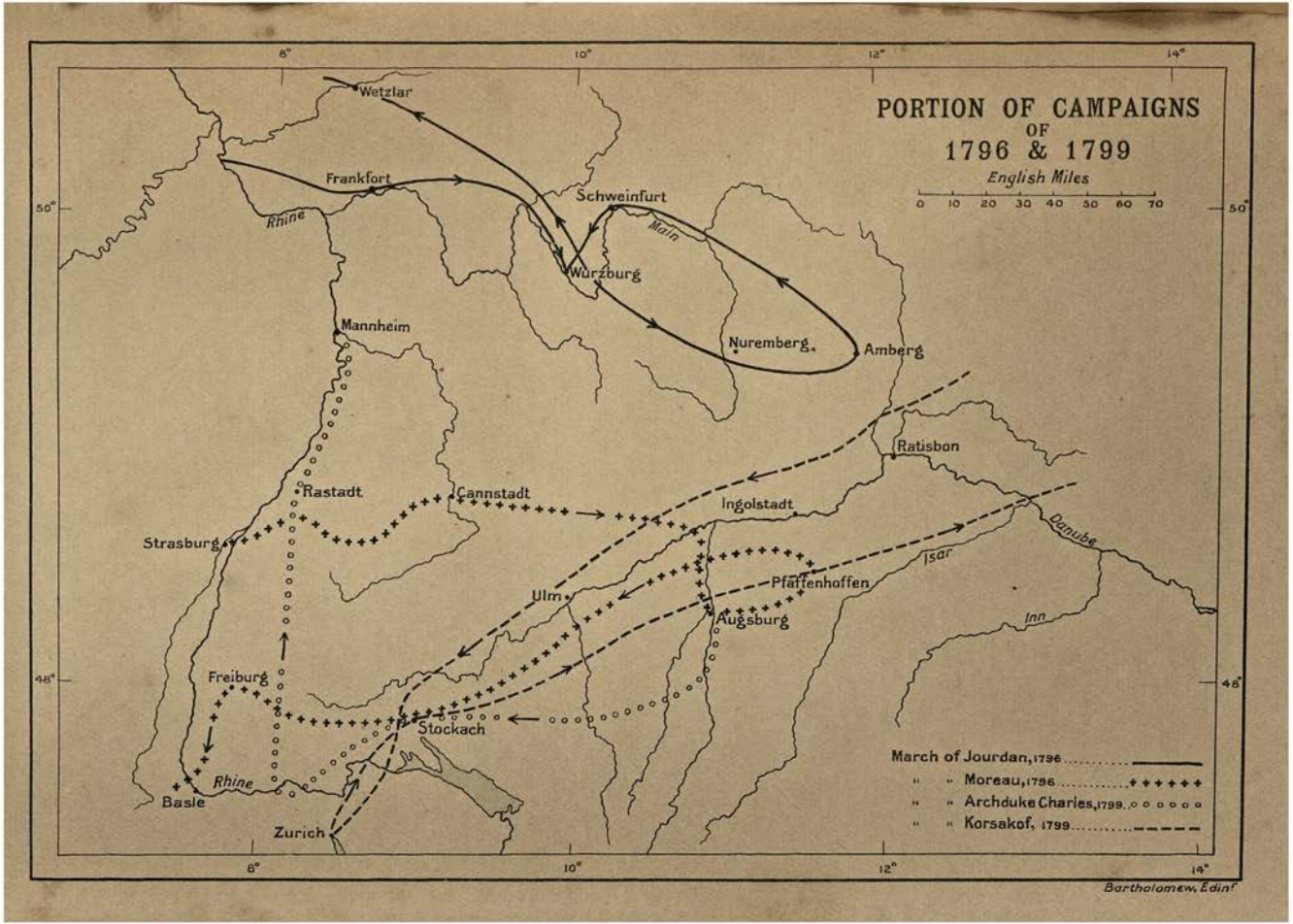
THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR ON LAND

1792–1802

CONTEMPORARY MINISTERS OF THE MOST IMPORTANT NATIONS

	Great Britain.	*Holy Roman Empire.*	*France.*	*Prussia.*	*Russia.*	*Spain.*
1789	William Pitt, Duke of Leeds.	Kaunitz, P. Cobenzl.	Montmorin.	Hertzeberg.	Ostermann.	Florida Blanca.
1791.	Lord Grenville.	...	de Lessart.	Schulemburg.		
1792.	...	...	Dumouriez. Chambonas. Bigot de Ste. Croix. Lebrun Tondu.	Haugwitz.	...	Aranda, Godoy.
1794.	...	Colloredo, Thugut.	Deforgues.			
1795.	...	...	The Directory, Delacroix.	...	Panine.	
1797.	...	L. Cobenzl.	Talleyrand.			
1798.	...	...	...	...	...	Saavedra, Urquijo.
1799.	...	Thugut, Lehrbach.	The Consulate, Reinhardt, Talleyrand.			
1800.	...	...	...	...	...	Godoy.
1801.	Addington, Hawkesbury.	...	...	...	Panine, Kotchoubey.	

THE cowardly flight of the *emigrés* to the Rhine frontier, together with their frantic appeals to the German princes were largely the causes of the European war. This suicidal policy of the French nobles cannot be sufficiently condemned. Their appeals were not unheeded, for most of the European princes were bound to either the King or Queen of France by close relationship and ties of blood. Pitt, as Prime Minister of England, continued to imagine that he could remain neutral, and he carried this attitude almost to absurdity. His strong conviction that he was right may be seen in his reduction of both the army and navy in 1792, and in his short-sighted speech on the Budget of that year. At exactly the same moment revolutionary France declared war upon Austria. Soon after his accession to the Empire, Leopold had despatched a protest urging that France ought


PORTION OF CAMPAIGNS
OF
1796 & 1799
English Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70
8°
10°
12°
14°
50°
48°
Wetzlar
Frankfort
Rhine
Schweinfurt
Main
Würzburg
Mannheim
Nuremberg
Amberg
Ratisbon
Rastadt
Cannstadt
Ingolstadt
Strasburg
Danube
Isar
Pfaffenhoffen
Ulm
Augsburg
Inn
Freiburg
Stockach
Rhine
Basle
Zurich
March of Jourdan, 1796
" " Moreau, 1796
" " Archduke Charles, 1799
" " Korsakof, 1799
Bartholomew, Edinr.

to give compensation to the German nobles who had, by the decrees of August 4th, 1789, lost their feudal rights in Alsace. The Emperor also demanded that the Pope should be indemnified for the loss of Avignon and Venaissin, which were annexed by decree of the Constituent Assembly in September, 1791. Besides this, he pretended that all he really wanted was a government at Paris in which the world could place a certain amount of reliance. More powerful motives were Leopold's anxieties about his sister, Marie Antoinette, and about the Austro-French alliance, which was unlikely to survive the fall of the King and Queen. His joint proclamation with the King of Prussia at Pilnitz on August 27th, 1791, was only meant to intimidate the French, and he expressed his satisfaction when the King accepted the new Constitution in September. But since then the actions of Kaunitz and the *emigrés* had increased the danger of war. At home the state of affairs was certainly advantageous if war proved necessary. Leopold had won the goodwill of his subjects by granting religious toleration. He had pacified Hungary and checkmated Russia. He had to keep apart the separate nationalities that went to compose his vast dominions, such as Austrians, Hungarians, Bohemians, Belgians and Milanese, and on the whole at this juncture he was successful. In February, 1792, he concluded an alliance with the King of Prussia. For the time they were united in the policy of restoring order in France, though the old jealousy between Austria and Prussia was sufficient to make any lengthy friendship impossible. Prussia never had her heart in the war, for her King would have preferred, with the help of Russia, to dismember Poland, while Brunswick,* the commander-in-chief, hated the French *emigrés* quite as much as the Revolutionaries. When Leopold died, on March 1st, 1792, the possible understanding seemed less likely to last, for Francis II. encouraged a policy of complete lassitude and torpor; while, at the same time, his ministers were far more concerned with Eastern and Polish difficulties than with the prosecution of the Western War.

In France war was keenly desired by the Ministry of *Sans-Culottes;* the Girondists felt that that alone could complete their schemes, and they forced Louis XVI. to declare war on

* Charles William Frederick, Duke of Brunswick-Luneburg (1735–1806).

April 20th, 1792. The French army fled in hopeless panic at the first encounter; they murdered their generals, and, as Dumouriez said, they marched out like madmen, and returned like fools. After this it was thought throughout Europe that the struggle was merely a contest between an army and an undisciplined mob, and that the Prussians would rapidly advance on Paris and rescue the royal family. On July 28th the army under Brunswick started from Coblenz; the Duke had on the previous day issued a manifesto by which he only exasperated France although he had hoped to terrorize the Revolutionaries. On August 19th about 100,000 men of the allied army crossed the Rhine, and on the next day the Prussians invested Longwy, which was taken on August 24th. A week later the invaders reached Verdun, and when this was captured, after bombardment, the road to Paris lay practically open. Had Brunswick pushed on with anything like determination Paris must have fallen; but he had been trained in the school of Frederick the Great, and, although a brilliant strategist, he failed to grasp the situation. Brunswick was too cautious, he was incapable of running risks for a great venture, and as a consequence all was lost. The movement from Verdun into the wooded country of the Argonne was slow and careful. Before this almost nervous advance Dumouriez, who was defending the ways to Paris, was obliged to fall back. On September 20th, however, all was changed by the cannonade at Valmy, by which Brunswick's seasoned troops were checked by the raw levies of France under their general François Kellermann.* The Prussians asked for terms, and, under cover of negotiations, retired. The Revolutionaries were naturally delighted, and at once started an aggressive policy somewhat resembling that of their greatest monarch Louis XIV. They had the boldness to invite all discontented subjects of whatever kingdom to appeal to France, which would assist them towards the acquisition of the rights, liberty, and equality. They sent an army to punish Amadeus III. of Savoy for daring to support the House of Bourbon; and they annexed, with the welcome and sanction of the populace, the two territories of Savoy and Nice. One of their leaders, Montesquiou, was ordered to

* François Christophe Kellermann, Duke of Valmy (1735–1820); his son, François Étienne (1770–1835), distinguished himself at Marengo.

attack Geneva, but he managed to establish peaceful relations with the country he had been commanded to seize. The war had already been carried into German territory by Custine,* with his motto "War to the palaces and peace to the cottages." He marched with a large revolutionary army into the "Priests' Lane," and Spiers (September 30th), Worms (October 5th), Mainz (October 21st), and Frankfort fell into the hands of the French. Aggression by no means stopped here. Dumouriez invaded what is now Belgium, and on November 6th defeated 20,000 Austrians under Clerfait † and the Duke of Saxe-Taschen at Jemappes. The Convention, as has been shown, entered upon even more rash actions by opening the Scheldt, declaring the emancipation of serfs and abolition of nobility in all countries invaded by the French army; and finally, at the instigation of Danton, decreed the confiscation of all ecclesiastical and royal property. The application of this last act to Belgium not only caused the indignation of the people and lost the goodwill of Dumouriez, but also roused the wrath of the whole of Europe. On January 21st, 1793, Louis XVI. was guillotined. The news had a powerful effect in England and in other countries where public opinion was as yet undecided in its attitude to France. Many other reasons had combined to reconcile Pitt to the prospect of war: the decrees of November 6th and December 15th, the one declaring the Scheldt open, and the other proclaiming the intention of the French armies to bestow liberty wherever they penetrated and to punish the slaves who refused to avail themselves of it; the danger to Holland; the blustering attitude of the French agent Chauvelin ;‡ the secession of Burke from the Whig ranks. The decision was, in any case, taken out of Pitt's hands. The French ministers, deceived by their hopes, expected the assistance of a powerful body of English republicans, and declared war on February 8th. The Stadtholder of Holland also entered upon the war, and on March 7th the coalition was joined by Spain under Charles IV.'s favourite, Godoy.§ The forces were still further

* A. P., Comte de Custine (1740–1793).
† F. S. C. J. de C. de Clerfait (1733–1798).
‡ F. B. Chauvelin (1766–1832).
§ Manuel de Godoy, Duke of Alcudia (1767–1851); banished from Spain 1808.

augmented by those of Portugal, the Papal States, and Naples. In this way France was seriously menaced by all the nations except Russia. That country alone stood out, for Catherine II. realized that she would be left free to carry out her designs against Poland.

The first move of the allies was made by the Prince of Coburg on Belgium. Success attended his enterprise, for Valence * was driven from Louvain, Miranda was forced to abandon the siege of Maestricht, and Dumouriez was defeated on March 18th at Neerwinden. The latter, having been annoyed by the extreme actions of the Dantonists, joined on April 5th the Austrian general Mack,† but accomplished nothing, and died an exile in London twenty years later. The complete failure of the French arms brought a fresh attack of the Mountain upon the Gironde, and the latter fell. Meanwhile the French force under Custine was checked at Mainz; 20,000 Piedmontese invaded France, and, what was worse, England declared the French ports in a state of blockade. But France was now under the triumvirate, and, having raised an enormous army, its forces proved successful at home and abroad. In the north Caen submitted, after the Royalist general Wimpfen had been defeated. In the west Bordeaux was forced to accept the Constitution. In the south Marseilles surrendered; and Toulon called in Admiral Hood ‡ for its protection, but gave way to Napoleon Buonaparte, who first distinguished himself at this place as a young artillery officer. Abroad the forces of the revolution were equally successful under Jourdan, Hoche, Pichegru, and Houchard. In September Houchard distinguished himself by driving out the Duke of York from Dunkirk; a month later Jourdan § crushed the Austrians at Wattignies; while in December Hoche and Pichegru defeated the allied forces under Brunswick and Würmser ‖ at Wörth and Weissenberg. The success of the French was due in part to the want of co-operation between the Allies. Their armies were often

* C. M. A., Comte de Valence (1757–1822).

† Karl Freiherr von Mack (1752–1822); imprisoned 1805; liberated 1808; fully pardoned 1819.

‡ Samuel, Viscount Hood (1724–1816).

§ Jean Baptiste, Comte Jourdan (1762–1833); supported the revolution of 1830.

‖ D. S. Würmser (1724–1797).

out of touch with each other ; and Prussia, at any rate, had her thoughts fixed on Poland. Against this half-hearted coalition the French fought with the ardour of a new nation, realising that the profit and the glory of victory belonged to each of them. Credit is also due to the reforms under the old *régime* by which the Revolution profited. Besides this, Carnot exhibited remarkable skill in detecting ability in unexpected quarters : in Massena, the old soldier, in Moreau, the ex-lawyer, and in Murat,* once an inn-waiter.

In April, 1794, Lord Malmesbury, in a convention at the Hague, obtained from the Prussian minister Haugwitz † a promise of 62,000 soldiers under Möllendorf ‡ in exchange for a subsidy, but this agreement was made invalid, for the army was sent by Frederick William II. to Poland, in distinct contravention of the compact. The Prince of Coburg about the same time marched on Paris, succeeded in taking Landrecies, but was forced to retire by General Pichegru. The English were no more successful than in the past, for the Duke of York was again defeated at Turcoing and Yprès by General Moreau.§ In June Jourdan made himself still more famous by his victory at Fleurus, which caused the retirement of Coburg behind the Meuse and the retreat of the Duke of York into Brabant. Although Coburg now retired from the command and Clerfait was appointed in his place, the change brought no advantage to the coalition. Clerfait was immediately driven behind the Rhine, and the Revolutionary force took Cologne, Bonn, and Coblenz. Pichegru || was also active in the Netherlands, and by his seizure of Antwerp he made himself master of the Low Countries, still further crippling the Dutch by his march across the ice and the capture of their fleet in the Texel. The fact was, that as in the previous year, the Allies were not working together, as was shown by the Austrian minister Thugut ¶ when he said " Every one does exactly as he pleases ; there is absolute anarchy and dis-

* Joachim Murat (1771–1815) ; proclaimed King of the Two Sicilies 1808.

† C. H. C., Count Haugwitz (1752–1832).

‡ Field-Marshal Count W. J. Heinrich von Möllendorf (1725–1816).

§ Jean Victor Moreau (1761–1813).

|| Charles Pichegru (1761–1804) ; 1797 deported to Cayenne ; 1798 escaped to England.

¶ F. M. Thugut (1734–1813).

order." To make matters worse for the Allies the Prussian troops were recalled by the Kosciusko * revolt in Poland, where Austria was also seeking aggrandizement. In Spain Godoy saw his power waning, and he gained no advantage from the coalition ; and England was left in the uncomfortable position of only being able to threaten to withdraw the vast subsidies. This being the case, the coalition rapidly began to break up. Tuscany made terms with France in February, 1795. This was followed in April by the Treaty of Basle between the Revolutionaries and Frederick William II. of Prussia, by which France kept what she had won on the left bank of the Rhine and recognized the neutrality of the North German States. In June France again made advantageous terms with Spain by which the Spanish portion of the island of San Domingo was added to the French West Indian possessions.

Before this was accomplished, however, in May, England and Austria made a fresh alliance, partly because of the subsidies offered by the former, and partly because the latter was satisfied with the promise of Russia with regard to the annexations in Poland. This new coalition was largely the work of Thugut. He was a scornful man, of humble parentage, and therefore detested by the haughty Austrian nobility. The Prussians looked upon him as Satan himself, and with his entrance to power the Prusso-Austrian alliance was doomed. He was possessed of many striking qualities, and, though ambitious, was never blind to the practical questions of politics. His schemes were of the widest, and always to increase the dominions of Austria. At one time or another he had hopes of annexing French Flanders, Bavaria, Alsace, Venice, Dalmatia, Salzburg, Geneva, Piedmont, Bosnia, and part of Poland. He has been accused of giving way to French demands and diplomacy, but this is very unlikely, for throughout his career he was the steadfast enemy of French aggression.

The first outcome of the alliance was that Clerfait and Würmser drove Pichegru from Mannheim. He was at once superseded by Moreau. General Barthélemi Schérer † having

* Tadeusz Kosciusko (1746–1817) ; fought for the Colonists in America 1777 ; headed the Polish movement in 1794 ; see Chapter VII.

† Barthélemi L. J. Schérer (1747–1804).

secured the entrance to Piedmont at Loano on November 24th, Bonaparte was given the command to attack Austria by this Italian route and so to restore the finances of France. The state of Italy at this time was far from satisfactory. Long habit had made the race not only submissive but actually servile. Nevertheless, the country in the north was progressive and the communes of Lombardy were doing excellent work in irrigation and industry. The vitality of its literature was shown by the works of Beccaria * and Vittorio Alfieri.† Socially Italy had hardly emerged from the primitive stages, and in Tuscany in particular the nobility were little more than country gentlemen with small estates. The mezzeria, or partnership between landlord and tenant, was the common system of agriculture. Wealth was very unevenly divided in all parts, though this was probably most noticeable in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The few laws that existed were not rigidly enforced, life was regarded very indifferently, and murder was by no means uncommon. Above all there was a savage and fanatical priesthood, exercising enormous influence over a superstitious people.

Napoleon Bonaparte, now twenty-seven years of age, started his famous Italian campaigns at the battles of Montenotte and Dego, by which he separated the Piedmontese under Colli ‡ and the Austrians under Beaulieu.§ He next forced Victor Amadeus III. to make an armistice at Cherasco, which was soon followed by a peace, surrendering Savoy and Nice to France. After defeating the Austrians at Formbio, he crossed the Po at Piacenza and crushed Beaulieu at Lodi on May 10th. The results of this battle were most important and far-reaching. The Austrian army was obliged to retreat to Mantua, while the city of Milan made its submission to the formidable conqueror. The finances of France were assisted by the receipt of 20,000,000 francs, and many of the finest examples of Italian art were sent to Paris, for the

* Cesare, Marchese de Beccaria (1735–1794); published *Dei Delitte e delle Pene* 1764; Professor of Political Philosophy at Milan 1768.

† Vittorio, Count Alfieri (1749–1803); he published 21 tragedies, 6 comedies, and *Abele*, which was a combination of tragedy and opera; he also wrote an epic in four cantos, 16 satires, many lyrics, and an autobiography.

‡ Baron de Colli (1760–1811).

§ Jean Pierre, Baron de Beaulieu (1725–1820).

greedy Directors had told Napoleon "Leave nothing in Italy which will be useful to us." Pavia made some effort to resist the French, but was easily suppressed with more extortion. The Austrian main force was driven into neutral territory at Peschiera, and was defeated at Borghetto on the Mincio, Bonaparte himself having first entered Venetian territory at Brescia. His elation now made him pick a quarrel with Venice, and he seized Verona and Legnano, while at the same time conducting the siege of Mantua. In June he gave the Pope an armistice at Foligno, and granted the same to the King of Naples. In the same month he despatched Augereau to take Ferrara and Bologna, while Murat was allowed to plunder Leghorn. All these actions, but in particular the victory at Lodi, strengthened the Directors against the Royalists. The increased power of the army, however, alarmed the civilians of France, and the general spoliation disgusted the whole of Europe.

The Emperor now sent Würmser from his position on the Rhine to effect the relief of the besieged Mantua. He considered it advisable to divide his army into two forces, and one of these, under Quasdanowich, was defeated in August by Bonaparte at Lonato. Mantua was revictualled, but Würmser was defeated at Brescia and Castiglione in the same month, and the flying Austrians were obliged to take refuge in the beleaguered city.

Meanwhile the Archduke Charles, by falling back to Nüremberg, had allowed Moreau to advance into Bavaria. Jourdan had also pushed forward by the valley of the Main and Frankfort to Arnberg, but the Archduke, leaving Moreau on the river Leck, turned upon Jourdan and, with the help of General Wartensleben,* drove back the French across the Rhine. This left Moreau unprotected, and he, too, was obliged to retreat, which he effected without much loss, though the Austrians took the fortresses of Hümernigen and Kehl. In the following October Lord Malmesbury tried to bring about peace on the understanding that the Netherlands were restored to Austria. France, however, had had such unparalleled success in Italy that the terms were refused and Bonaparte was allowed to go on his victorious course.

* W. L. G. Wartensleben (1728–1797).

With his star in the ascendant Bonaparte was now opposed by Alvinzi * with 40,000 men and Davidowich with a force of about 18,000. The former was defeated at Carrignano in November, but when the two armies combined Bonaparte was temporarily forced to retreat to Verona. He soon regained this momentary repulse by defeating Alvinzi at Arcola on November 17th and obliging Davidowich to retire. On January 14th, 1797, Alvinzi was again defeated at Rivoli, and his ally Provera, after reaching Mantua, suffered loss at La Favorita, and Mantua surrendered on February 2nd. This victory was followed by the seizure of Bologna, which was added to Modena and Ferrara, already created by Bonaparte into the Cispadane Republic, thus unconsciously giving birth to the idea of a united Italy. His next step was to obtain from the Pope a ratification of the armistice of Foligno at Tolentino on February 19th. Under this later arrangement the Papal temporal powers were much curtailed, and Avignon, Romagna, and Ancona were ceded to France. Bonaparte also saw that it was time to obtain the good will of the Catholics, for he realized that he must look to them when he struck for power, and he understood that there was a decided revulsion towards Catholicism. But he did not forget the possible rivals by whom he was surrounded, and to prevent Hoche gaining too much authority and popularity in the north he invaded Austria to attack the forces of the Archduke Charles.

The French success continued unabated. Joubert seized the Tyrol, Massena took over the territory of Carinthia, while Bonaparte himself defeated Charles at Tagliamento, and by this means became master of the port of Trieste and the district of Carniola. Continuing his triumphant progress he crossed the Alps and marched to Leoben, eighty miles from Vienna. It was at this point that negotiations for peace were opened on April 18th. The French demanded that Belgium, Lombardy, and the Rhine frontier should be surrendered to France, while Austria was to be recompensed from neutral Venetian territory, receiving the district between the Oglio, Po and Adriatic, and also Istria and Dalmatia. While these negotiations were in progress Bonaparte, in May, attacked Venice on the flimsiest excuse, and that unfortunate province was obliged to give way, being in complete ignor-

* Joseph, Baron d'Alvinzi (1735–1810); Austrian field-marshal.

ance of the terms of the Austrian treaty. The results were that Venice was declared a republic, works of art and sums of money were exacted, and the Venetian possessions in the Levant, together with Corfu and Cephalonia, were taken. A month later he reorganized the Cispadane Republic, and with certain additions, such as Austrian Lombardy and Romagna, converted it into the Cisalpine Republic. Not content with this, at the same time he subjected Genoa, under the title of the Ligurian Republic, to the strictest dependence on France.

Bonaparte had during this period kept a sharp eye upon the Directors at home, and he knew perfectly well that affairs were by no means settled in Paris. In September the *coup d'état* of Augereau had taken place; Moreau had been dismissed, and Hoche, who had been put in supreme command, had died. Bonaparte was weary of the incapacity of the Directory, and he had now determined to rise to the highest position in France. For this reason he hastened the treaty with Austria, which was completed on October 17th at Campo Formio. France obtained Belgium, Lombardy and the Ionian Islands, while Austria received Istria, Dalmatia, Venice and Venetian territory up to the Adige, on the understanding that the Emperor recognized the Cisalpine Republic. A secret article was also inserted under which the Emperor was to do his best to obtain for France the left bank of the Rhine. All other questions were to be discussed at a meeting at Rastadt in December. This Congress proved a sham. It was clear that the only compensation for the Rhine frontier could be the secularization of German territory, a change strongly recommended by Protestant Prussia, but equally firmly resisted by Thugut. The Congress continued to sit, but accomplished nothing.

Bonaparte, meanwhile, had returned to Paris and had been appointed to command the army of invasion which was being prepared against England. By the beginning of the new year the project had been temporarily abandoned. Bonaparte was fascinated by the East and by the prizes which it offered to the adventurer. In May, 1798, he left France with an armament for Egypt; by the end of the summer he had overcome resistance, but Nelson's victory in Aboukir Bay, "the Battle of the Nile," on August 1st, 1798, cut off his

communications. An expedition against Syria was repulsed before the walls of Acre, and on his return to Egypt he learnt that the Government of the Directors was tottering to its fall. Deserting his army, he slipped home with a few companions.

At the beginning of 1798 the Austrian minister once again advocated war, and he had many justifications for doing so. In the first place, the desire to secularize ecclesiastical property was contrary to the wishes of most of the southern Germans. The Roman Catholics, too, had been shocked in February by Masséna's pillage of Rome after the murder of General Duphot ; by the abduction of Pope Pius VI. ; and by the conversion of Rome into a republic under consuls. Nor had French actions in Switzerland during the winter allayed suspicions. The Swiss cantons had been proclaimed as the Helvetic Republic at Aarau on March 29th, while £800,000 had been taken from the treasury at Berne ; actions sufficient to cause a revolt against French arrogance and a three days' fight at Stang. For these reasons, in the winter of 1798-99, the second coalition of England, Austria, Portugal, Naples, Turkey and Russia was formed against France. Turkey had now thrown in her lot with the Western Powers because of Bonaparte's attack on Egypt ; while Russia had also joined Pitt with cordiality, for Catherine II. had died in 1796, and the insane Paul hated the fanaticism of the Jacobins and all reform.

General Mack, with his Austrians, marched down on Rome, obliging the French to retire for the moment, but was soon defeated at the hands of Championnet, who advanced to Capua. Naples was then reduced, and was converted into the Parthenopean Republic. Ferdinand IV. had attempted to restore the Pope and had even got as far as Rome ; but he was unloved by his people, for he was a weak fool, and, with his wife, had carried on a policy of great cruelty. They were forced to fly the country, seeking a temporary refuge on Nelson's ship the *Vanguard.* The French, having started on their acts of deposition, now deprived of their thrones both Charles Emmanuel of Sardinia and Ferdinand of Tuscany. This extension of French territory was one of the greatest errors of the Directory, as it gave them more than they could safely protect.

In March, 1799, Jourdan, by the line of the Danube, advanced, only to be defeated by the Archduke Charles at Stockach on the 25th of the month. Nor was the French army more successful in Italy, for although the Austrians were traditionally lethargic, slow, and wanting in method, yet General Schérer was driven from the Adige by the battle of Magnano on April 5th, and was replaced by Moreau. Masséna, who had his headquarters in Switzerland, was also obliged to retreat to Zurich. The brilliant and impetuous Russian General Suvorof * defeated the French in Lombardy, and the mushroom Cisalpine Republic, which had not been in existence two years, collapsed. Moving forward to meet Macdonald,† who was advancing to assist Moreau, the Russians again scored a victory on the Trebbia on June 19th, while in August at Novi, by the defeat of Joubert, Suvorof added fresh laurels to those already gained by his splendid force. But the Russians were obliged to retreat, and, failing to reach Zurich in time to help Korsakof against Masséna on September 26th, Suvorof made his celebrated march over the Panixer Pass and ultimately to Russia. He did not meet with the reception from the Czar which he naturally expected. Paul I. was insane, and when Suvorof returned from his glorious efforts in Italy he was not welcomed, but hotly reprimanded upon a formal punctilio, and sank under the blow. He was succeeded by General Mélas, who was enfeebled by age and slow of action. He proved himself too cautious to risk anything and a poor successor to so gallant an officer.

Meantime stirring events were taking place in Naples, where in June the cruel Ferdinand had been restored by Nelson after an insurrection and an acrimonious quarrel between the British admiral and Cardinal Ruffo.‡ A reign of terror was instituted, in which Nelson took a part and which has left an ineffaceable stain upon his memory.

* Alexander Vasilievich Suvorof (1729–1800); fought in the Seven Years' War and against Poland and Turkey.

† Etienne Jacques Joseph Alexandre Macdonald (1765–1840); marshal of France; son of a Scottish Jacobite; entered the army 1784; governor of the Papal States 1798; took Laibach, and distinguished himself at Wagram; fought in Spain and in the Russian campaign; Chancellor of the Legion of Honour, 1816.

‡ D. F. Ruffo (1744–1827); was not only a cardinal, but also a general and statesman.

In Paris, as has been shown, matters were advancing with rapidity, and, brushing aside Sieyès' elaborate scheme of checks and balances, in December, 1799, Bonaparte was appointed First Consul. He was now at the head of the new France, and as a man of colossal capacity, intellect and ambition, aimed at supreme power. The Consulate, in its original form, was well contrived to give him the substance of empire under a constitutional guise. In executive matters he was supreme. The Legislative Assembly could not initiate or discuss legislation; the Tribunate could give nothing the force of law. Both were selected, from lists presented by the electors, by the Senate. This body was appointed by the Government, so that legislative as well as executive powers were in Napoleon's hands. His first task was the appointment of his officials. Carnot continued the work of Minister of War for the next eight years until relieved by Berthier.* Fouché † was appointed Minister of the Police; Talleyrand ‡ accepted the duties of the Foreign Office, where he gained in later years a world-wide fame. For the first twelve months of the Consulate Lucien Bonaparte conducted the affairs of the interior, but was then replaced by Chaptal. The Ministry of the Marine was held for a short time by Forfait,§ who was succeeded in 1801 by Decies. Abrial was Minister of Justice until 1802, when Regnier ‖ took over the office until the first Treaty of Paris. The all-important questions of finance were entrusted to Gaudin,¶ who immediately started their reorganization by appointing receiver-generals of taxes in every department, and by introducing an income tax of twenty-five per cent.

* Alexandre Berthier (1753–1815); entered the army 1770; fought for the Colonists in the American War of Independence; chief-of-the-staff in Italy 1795; proclaimed the Republic of Rome 1798; fought in Egypt; married the daughter of Duke William of Bavaria.

† Joseph Fouché (1763–1820); Duke of Otranto; member of the National Convention 1792; expelled as a Terrorist 1794; Police Minister, with interruptions, till 1815; exiled 1816.

‡ Charles Maurice Talleyrand de Périgord (1754–1838); Bishop of Autun 1789; member of the States-General; exiled 1792; returned 1795; helped Napoleon to become Emperor 1804; organized the Confederation of the Rhine 1806; opposed the Moscow campaign 1812; Minister of Foreign Affairs under Louis XVIII.; chief adviser to Louis Philippe in the July Revolution.

§ P. A. L. Forfait (1752–1807).

‖ C. A. Regnier (1736–1814).

¶ M. M. C. Gaudin (1756–1844); Duke of Gaeta.

Bonaparte did not confine himself to the selection of officials. He showed clearly that the policy of the Consulate was to be one of reconciliation. From the moment of his accession to power deported individuals, unless they were open and avowed Royalists, were allowed to return and, in certain instances, were taken into favour. At the same time the harsh laws against the *emigrés* were annulled and 150,000 came back to France. An attempt was also made to win over the clergy by no longer regarding them as rebels and by restoring many of the churches to their proper uses. La Vendée was quietened in March, 1800, by the Treaty of Montluçon, and a large number of soldiers were thus freed for use against Europe. Bonaparte was determined to conduct the State on the lines of an army, and, if possible, to teach it to promote equality at home under a monarchical system. His immediate work, however, was to rouse France to a warlike spirit against England and Austria; because, in the first case, the people supported the House of Bourbon, and, in the second, the Austrians refused to treat apart from the allies, although Paul I. of Russia had withdrawn from the coalition and had established amicable relations with the Consulate.

Up to this period the war had been purely revolutionary, and the French had done their best to excite democracy and revolutionary principles in the different States of Europe. The character of the struggle during the next three years (1799-1802) was entirely changed. The First Consul had been willingly accepted to bestow upon a distracted country the benefits of rest and peace. The nation, acting in complete ignorance, had selected a man who could give neither the one nor the other. The Republic had become merged in the person of Bonaparte, and to him peace was useless, war was essential. It was all very well for him to talk of peace, and to assume a purely civil office, but he really looked to the army, and his ambitions were not confined to the original revolutionary schemes of the "natural limits" of France. His restless nature and overwhelming ambition drove him on to imaginary flights of stupendous conquest. Even if Bonaparte had desired to give to the French nation a lasting peace, it would probably have been impossible for two reasons. In the first place, the treasury of France was empty, and the

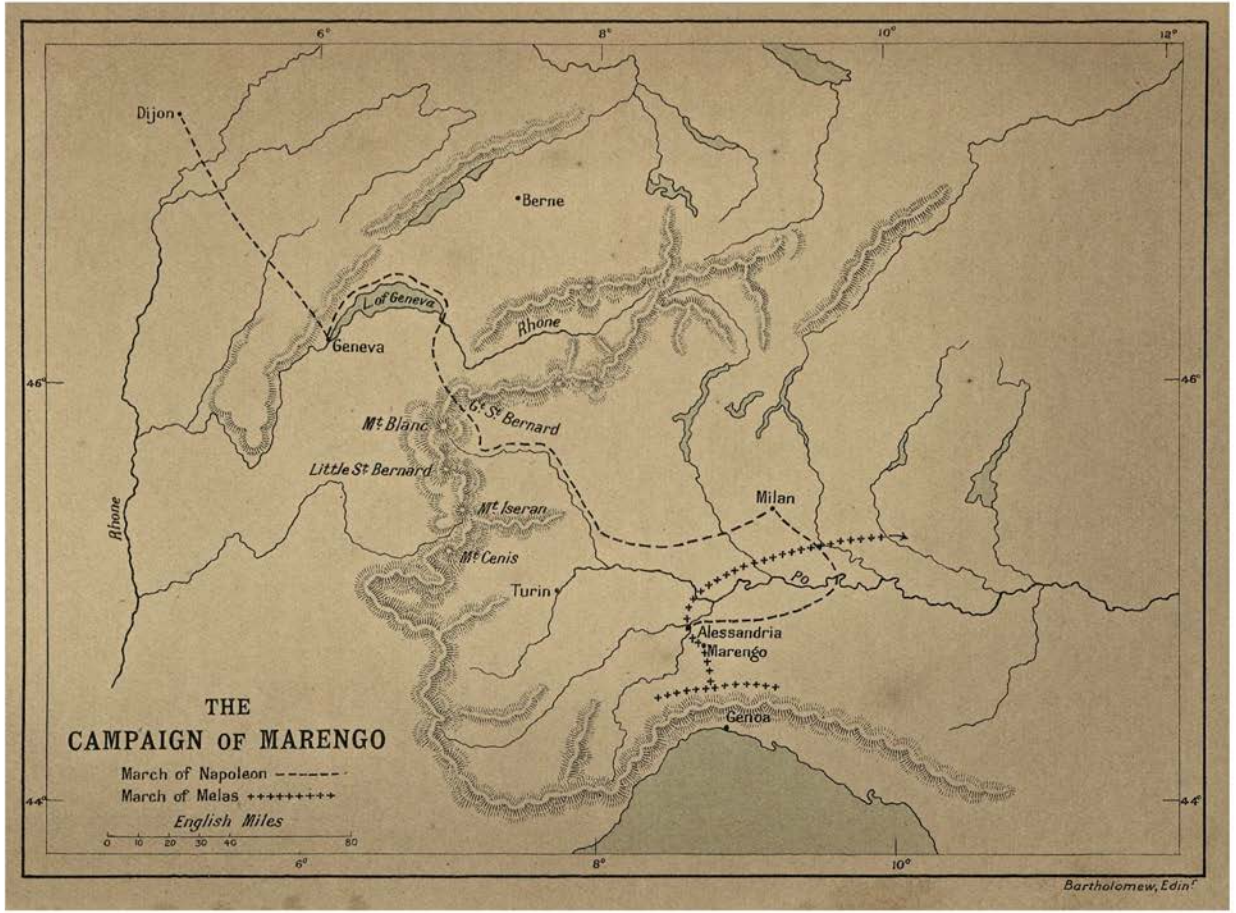
only obvious way of restoring the finances and of feeding a starved army was by further aggression. Besides this important fact, Great Britain imagined France to be utterly exhausted, while Austria was too proud to make a lasting treaty on the basis of Campo Formio ; so that when the First Consul pretended to hold out the olive branch in December, 1799, it was scornfully rejected.

The year 1800 did not open well for France. The army was much reduced by the fact that so many men had been deserted by Bonaparte, and were left cooped up in Egypt and kept there by the British navy. To remedy this, from January onwards Bonaparte was perpetually busy in creating a new force. By March he had raised an army of between 40,000 and 50,000 men. His first scheme was to make the banks of the Rhine the theatre of war, and he was about to send a large contingent there when he discovered that Moreau was jealous of his power and reluctant to serve under his command. He then decided to lead his new army once again to Italy, where he had been so successful in previous years, and where Masséna was now holding General Mélas in check. By the new scheme Moreau was left to do what he could on the Rhine, while Bonaparte was to cross the Alps and take Mélas in the rear. In April Moreau, after five complete victories, drove General Kray into Ulm ; but, in the meantime, Mélas had attacked the French in the Apennines and forced Masséna to take refuge in Genoa. Bonaparte planned everything, and proposed to win back all those parts of Italy which had been retaken. He had, by a Consular decree, been given the full command in March ; but it was realized that this was an infringement of the Constitution, as the office of First Consul had been declared to be purely civil in character. Bonaparte, however, knew that his power lay in the army, and he would not allow his glories to be eclipsed by any other generals. This being the case, the nominal command of the Italian army was given to Berthier, and Bonaparte did not appear till all was prepared for the passage of the Alps. This scheme had another great advantage, for if the expedition proved a failure no blame could rest upon the civil First Consul, while if it was triumphant Bonaparte knew well how to take the praise to himself.

No incident in the life of this extraordinary man so well illustrates his talent for self-advertisement and his skill in producing dramatic effect as his passage of the Alps by way of the St. Bernard. It is probable that the great difficulties of this journey have been grossly exaggerated, and it is now believed that, although a military exploit of great brilliance, it was no more remarkable than Lacourbe's crossing of the St. Gothard or Macdonald's passage by the Splügen. Bonaparte came down upon the plains of Lombardy, where he was joined by the other French forces, making a total army of 70,000 men. To oppose these troops, flushed with the sensation of a great deed accomplished, Mélas could bring but a wearied and disheartened army. On June 14th, by mere chance and the greatest good fortune, Bonaparte was joined by the gallant Desaix,* and together they fought and defeated Mélas at Marengo. Desaix was the true hero of the day. He had led his troops with consummate gallantry and met his death in the thickest part of the fight. It is supposed that this courageous Frenchman really won the day for Bonaparte, and that by his bravery at Marengo the power of the First Consul was established and he and his family were saved from utter ruin, if not actually from the guillotine.

Bonaparte now felt so assured of his position that, having made an armistice at Alessandria with Mélas, he returned to Paris to begin a new scheme of increasing his power. He won the good will of Paul I. by restoring to him without ransom 6,000 Russian prisoners, and by promising to return Malta to the Knights of St. John and Piedmont to the King of Sardinia. He also made a treaty with Spain by which Louisiana was restored to France ; and Tuscany was promised to the Duke of Parma, son-in-law of Charles IV. But what particularly pleased Bonaparte was the good will of Paul, who offered to make terms in January, 1801, and caused him to exclaim " Peace with the Emperor is nothing in comparison with an alliance which will overcome England and preserve to us Egypt." The Emperior Francis II. was gradually feeling the burden of French dominion. He, guided by Thugut, was still unwilling to come to terms, although defeat after

* Louis Charles Antoine Desaix de Veygoux (1768–1800) ; entered the army 1783 ; assisted Moreau's retreat 1796 ; held the fortress of Kehl 1797; conquered Upper Egypt 1799.


6°
8°
10°
12°
Dijon
Berne
L. of Geneva
Rhone
Geneva
46°
Mt. Blanc
G.t St. Bernard
Little St. Bernard
Rhone
Mt. Iseran
Milan
Mt. Cenis
Turin
Po
Alessandria
Marengo
Genoa
44°
THE
CAMPAIGN OF MARENGO
March of Napoleon
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defeat threatened his ruin. After Marengo, Moreau had been to a certain extent freed in his actions, and had defeated Kray at Hochstett, taken Munich, and driven the Austrians into Bohemia. He again showed the superiority of his arms at Hohenlinden on December 3rd, where Archduke Joseph was crushed, and after which the Archduke Charles concluded an armistice at Steyer. Just before this Macdonald, having crossed the Splügen, drove the Austrians back to Botzen. These successive blows were too much for Austria, and in February, 1801, Thugut came to terms at the Treaty of Lunéville. France by this treaty seemed to have reached the zenith of her power. The possessions in Italy which France had gained by the Treaty of Campo Formio, the whole of the Netherlands, and the west bank of the Rhine passed into the hands of Bonaparte. Although Tuscany was restored to the Duke of Parma, Naples was only given back to the Bourbons on the condition that Ferdinand closed his ports to those British allies who had so frequently assisted him.

A few months before this treaty, in December, 1800, by means of the mad Paul, Russia, Sweden and Denmark, and shortly afterwards Prussia, formed what is called the "armed neutrality," with the purpose of resisting England's right of searching their vessels. Bonaparte gave them his support, and instructed Talleyrand to inform the allied Powers that France would assist the neutrals in seeing that their flags were respected. He also added that he would make no peace with England until courtesy and respect were shown to the ships of Russia, Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, and America, and that England must acknowledge that the sea belonged to all nations. England was not likely to yield so powerful a weapon. In 1801 a Danish ship, the *Freya*, was told by the English to stand-by to be searched, but refused, and was therefore brought into the Downs. Russia resented this attack upon the "armed neutrality," in addition to which Paul hated Great Britain for the seizure of Malta. In retaliation, he imprisoned 2,000 English seamen on the confines of Siberia. England was at once forced to take up a menacing attitude. Admirals Parker and Nelson were sent in April to Copenhagen, where the Danish fleet was drawn up to meet them. The English captains had many difficulties to contend with, including dangerous channels. After a very severe struggle,

Parker signalled to Nelson to retire, but he, traditionally at least, turned his blind eye, and continued to inflict such damage upon the Danish fleet that from that moment the Baltic was reopened to English vessels. This was made still more possible by the alliance between England and Russia. On March 21st Alexander I. had assassinated his father Paul and was recognized as Czar; and a treaty was immediately made by the new Czar with Addington, who had succeeded Pitt. In 1800 Pitt had carried the bill for uniting England and Ireland through both Parliaments. Irish consent had been gained, partly by bribery, but also by a promise to abolish the penal laws against Roman Catholics. George III. refused to consider the proposal and Pitt resigned. By the agreement with Russia England was to be allowed to confiscate all merchandise meant for France, while an ineffective blockade was to be regarded as no blockade at all, and neutral vessels were to be protected from privateers. This was a severe blow for Bonaparte, for he saw in the alliance between Russia and England the ruin of his Eastern plans. Up to this time he had always hoped to win the Czar to his side, but now he recognized in the young Alexander a possible rival upon the political stage.

In Egypt, since Bonaparte's departure, the French army had been in a precarious position. General Kléber * had been refused all terms by Admiral Keith, and the French had therefore again seized Cairo, their main basis of strength in the valley of the Nile. Kléber was soon afterwards assassinated, and was succeeded by General Menou, an officer of second rate ability. In March, 1801, Sir Ralph Abercromby, who had won for himself distinction in the West Indies, landed in Egypt and defeated Menou at Alexandria, but was mortally wounded in the hour of victory. A larger force was at once sent, and in June General Belliard capitulated at Cairo to General Hutchinson, afterwards Lord Donoughmore. On September 1st Alexandria was besieged and, after hard fighting, was taken. This concluded the French occupation of Egypt, as the troops were

* Jean Baptiste Kléber (1753–1800); entered the Austrian army 1776; enlisted in the French army 1792; general of brigade, 1793; captured Maestricht 1794; victorious at Altenkirchen 1796; won the battle of Mount Tabor 1799; destroyed the Turks at Heliopolis; assassinated at Cairo 1800.

forced to evacuate the land of the Pyramids and Bonaparte's grandiose schemes of an Empire in the East collapsed.

The British troops as they returned from Egypt heard at Gibraltar that the preliminaries of peace had been signed in London. The Great War was apparently about to close. This seemed even more certain when the Treaty of Amiens was signed on March 27th, 1802. Great Britain abandoned her conquests except Trinidad and Ceylon, for Malta was to be restored to the Knights of St. John and the Cape of Good Hope was handed back to the Dutch. The French were to evacuate Naples, while both English and French left Egypt again in the hands of Turkey. The integrity of Portugal was guaranteed, and the independence of the Ionian Islands recognized. After hundreds of years the King of England renounced the absurd title of King of France, and Bonaparte was left supreme in fact, if he had not, as yet, the actual title of either King or Emperor.

The revolutionary war which had torn Europe in pieces ever since 1792 was now at an end; but the peace was utterly absurd, and it was ridiculous for Addington to say "this is no ordinary peace but a genuine reconciliation between the two great nations of the world." It was nothing of the sort; it could only be regarded by all thinking men as a truce. The Treaty of Lunéville, by which Austria had made terms with the triumphant France, had been exacted at a time when the Emperor could only accept such terms or be crushed; but every patriotic Austrian looked forward to a day when those terms could be repudiated and when it should be no longer necessary to acknowledge the supremacy of Bonaparte. The Prime Minister had in no way expressed the public opinion of Great Britain, where, from the very time that the treaty was signed, every one realized that the negotiations failed to protect British interests in the Mediterranean, and that the First Consul had, as keenly as ever, a full determination to rob the great naval State of her supremacy in that land-locked sea. It was with this knowledge that the Englishmen of the day agreed to a treaty, seeing in it a breathing space in this Titanic struggle. It was merely a calling of time after a few rounds; the contest must be resumed after gaining fresh strength. Nor did Bonaparte himself regard the treaty as a genuine reconcilia-

tion. His personal ambition pushed him on to wilder ventures, and he saw that it was to his own advantage that war should come again at no far distant date. For this reason he displayed an all-consuming activity in preparing for a fresh outburst. France was made as strong as possible within and without. The means of communication were improved so that men and goods could pass rapidly in any direction. He realized that on the renewal of war the products of the West Riding of Yorkshire and of the West of England would be excluded from his markets, so that he personally encouraged in every way the clothing industries of Normandy. His fleet had been shattered, his colonies had been lost, but this did not deter him from fresh efforts both in creating a new navy and instituting colonial schemes. But where he made one of his fatal mistakes was in his attempt to dragoon other countries into obeying his behests. From Spain he sought absolute obedience ; in Portugal he demanded that her harbours should be closed to her best customers and oldest allies, the English ; while in Italy he altered the Cisalpine Republic into the Italian and forced himself on it as President. Nor did he refrain from interfering in the politics of both Holland and Switzerland. In the first case, in 1801, he had reorganized the Batavian Republic, while in the second he withdrew the French troops as he foresaw that a civil war was imminent. He waited until it broke out and then offered his mediation.

Besides this interference abroad, Bonaparte saw that to gain even dizzier heights than those to which he had attained it would be necessary to establish a firmer and harsher despotism at home. After an attempt on his life he exiled 130 innocent Jacobins. He then founded special tribunals, consisting of three criminal judges, three officers, and two assessors, the last being his own nominees. When this was attacked by the Tribunate he revenged himself by nominating all those who were opposed to him to retire, as they had to do by law. He carried his system of espionage to unheard-of lengths, and the Feuillant Lafayette and royalist Moreau were forced to retreat into private life. In April, 1802, as a stepping-stone towards his further advancement, he restored the Roman Catholic faith, in which he had not the faintest belief. But his great object was to be absolute,

and in August he appealed to the people against the Senate and obtained the position of First Consul for life. He was then authorized to nominate his successor and to govern France, as he said, "through her vanity."

Revolutionary principles and the supremacy of Bonaparte were not only felt in France, but in England, Italy, and Germany. In England the Revolution had, in its early stages, been welcomed by several distinct types. The first was that of the philosopher and scholar, who saw in the Revolution of 1789 much that was the outcome of the teaching of such French philosophers as Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and others. They recognized the ability of these men, but they knew that their teaching had been largely influenced by the Englishman Locke, whose Social Contract had done so much for England at the time of the Revolution of 1688. The leaders of the new Romantic School of English poetry, Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey, found their earliest inspiration in the Revolutionary principles. The ordinary politician was flattered, for he imagined that the French were trying to obtain what England had already got, a constitutional and limited monarchy. The man of the world welcomed the Revolution as an opportunity for all the other countries of Europe to develop without French interference. The Radicals acclaimed the outbreak with joy and, in the case of Charles James Fox, with extravagance. Their opinions were voiced by such democratic organizations as "the Revolutionary Society," "the Bill of Rights Society," "the Corresponding Society," and "the Association of the Friends of the People." It was, however, Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution* that altered England's opinion. He wrote to contradict the arguments of Dr. Price, laid before the Revolutionary Society on November 5th, 1789. The work created an immense sensation, and although Tom Paine said that Burke "pitied the plumage but forgot the dying bird," yet the anti-Gallican feeling of Englishmen may be attributed to this brilliant and versatile man. This was still further accentuated by the murder of the King, so that the Revolution and its attendant circumstances first of all created a warlike spirit. Fear of the English radical reformers, to whom he attributed the extreme views of a few of their leaders, caused William Pitt to

inaugurate a series of harsh measures and gagging Acts, such as the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, the Treason Bill, the Traitorous Correspondence Bill, and the Sedition Act; and in 1799 and 1800 Pitt's fear of the working class was proved by his stern Combination Acts to prevent the amalgamation of labourers or artizans. But the effect of the Revolution was seen particularly clearly in the check to all proposals for reform. For many years reform agitation had been made by the extreme Whigs, and even during the early years of the Revolution Mr. Grey brought forward three motions, all of which failed. But between 1797 and 1809 no one dared to bring in any proposal for Parliamentary reform, for Whigs and Tories alike feared that by giving the franchise to the people the horrors of Paris might be re-enacted in London. The results, therefore, of the Revolution on England were non-progressive and reactionary; the land of liberty, the theoretical champion of freedom, came to be for a time a land of harsh measures, the home of legislative despotism.

This was hardly the case in Italy, where one of the immediate outcomes of the Revolution was the introduction of certain civil reforms. Here, for the first time, the hope of obtaining liberty and a fatherland was aroused. The Revolution was rapturously welcomed by the Italians, for they imagined that their country would be lifted to higher planes of freedom and importance. They soon found, however, that French liberation meant French conquest; and by the time of the second Italian campaign they had learnt that the Consulate was actuated by sheer greed. Bonaparte, at first, won over the Roman Catholics, the Liberals, and the Patriots. The latter thought that he was carrying out the suppression of abuses and preparing the way for national unity. As a matter of fact, unity was the last thing that Bonaparte desired. He worked rather for the separation of the different States. Thus Venice was the earliest to be split off; in 1801 Piedmont was declared a French military province; the Ligurian Republic was first allowed to have a body of Directors as governors, but in 1802 Bonaparte altered this, and the Republic of Genoa became his humble ally until incorporated with France in 1805. With regard to the Cisalpine Republic he did his best, in 1801, to satisfy national aspirations, but he firmly

established French rule, he himself being made the chief magistrate. Bonaparte cannot be said to have given Italy national solidarity, but it was during this period that the seed was sown. Undoubtedly very great national improvements owe their origin entirely to the French despot; and had it not been for him Italy would long have continued behindhand in means of communication, the improvement of harbours, and the extension of her cities. There seemed reason for Venice, Rome, and Naples to look forward to a strong and peaceful rule beneath the capable government and arbitrary will of the First Consul.

The industrial prosperity of Western Germany also owes something to the victories of the Revolution and Bonaparte's rule. Germany welcomed the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity, and the Revolution did more than anything else to shatter the effete political fabric that had so long existed under the fallacious title of Holy Roman Empire. The relaxation of the feudal system, particularly upon the left bank of the Rhine, made it possible for French ideas and principles to be easily acclimatized. But what hardly suited Bonaparte so well was the steady increase of the passion of patriotism and the rise of the splendid spirit of nationality. With the acquisition of civil equality and freedom from the burdens of ecclesiasticism and feudalism the inhabitants of the Rhenish provinces welcomed their liberators. The people, too, were raised from the servile state by the sale of national domains and the creation of a system of peasant proprietors. In the Rhenish provinces, in particular, agriculture was developed to a far larger extent than had existed before, for although that tract of country was traversed by the armies, it was left untouched by actual war. But, as in Italy, liberty still remained an ideal to be attained; it was not a fact, for the Press, as in most countries during the period, lay under the ban of a rigorous censorship. As early as 1801 Bonaparte began to take definite steps with regard to Germany. In that year a diet was held in Ratisbon to decide what compensation should be given to the German princes dispossessed of their rights upon the Rhine. Two years later Bonaparte appointed the Czar Alexander as arbitrator, with unfortunate results. If possible, Germany became more than ever disunited. All ecclesiastical

States were secularized, and forty-four out of fifty Imperial cities were suppressed. It is also noticeable that as the princes of Baden, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Saxony were related to Alexander, so they were all advanced in power. Owing to this interference the Roman Catholics in Germany lost their predominance, and by the suppression of the ecclesiastical States a Protestant majority was gained in the Diet. The Archbishops of Trèves and Cologne lost their electorates, which were given to Baden, Würtemberg, Hesse-Cassel, and Saltzburg. For Germany as a nation it was good that petty sovereigns should be stamped out, and for Europe as a whole it was not without benefits that the Holy Roman Empire should cease.

In many respects the tributary States benefited by Napoleon's rule. But they suffered for the very reason which made the Napoleonic conquests popular with the French people. The success of the French army was applauded by the French nation ; but it was gained at a great cost of expenditure and individual prosperity. These losses were made good by the administration of the conquered States. Foreign tribute replenished the French treasury, and the bureaucratic governments which were set up offered continually fresh prizes for Napoleon's supporters, in civil as well as military posts.

NOTES AND DIAGRAMS

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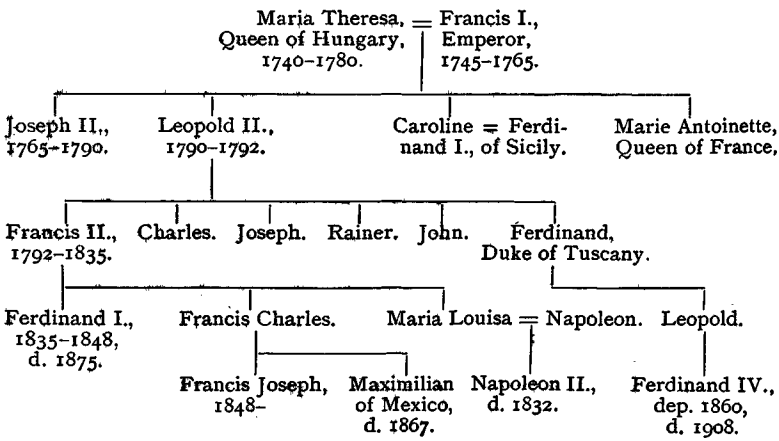
CONTEMPORARY EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

1798. Great Britain threatened with invasion.
The rebellion in Ulster postponed.
Rebellions in Kildare and Wexford.
The Battle of the Nile.
Humbert effects a landing in Killala Bay.
Proposed coalition by Paul I.
British troops were ordered to leave San Domingo.
1799. The beginning of the siege of Acre.
The siege of Seringapatam.
The expedition to the Helder.
Great Britain endangered by the return of Bonaparte.
1800. The Union between Great Britain and Ireland.
1801. Great Britain isolated.
Pitt resigned office owing to the Catholic Emancipation question.

PEDIGREE OF THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA.



CHAPTER III

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR AT SEA

1793–1805

SOME CONTEMPORARY ADMIRALS OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND SPAIN.

	Battle.	*English Admirals.*	*French Admirals.*	*Spanish Admirals.*
1794.	The Battle of the 1st of June.	Admiral Richard Howe. V. Adm. Sir A. Hood. V. Adm. Thomas Graves. R. Adm. G. Bowyer. R. Adm. B. Caldwell. R. Adm. A. Gardner. R. Adm. Pasley. R. Adm. Montague.	R. Adm. L. Villaret-Joyeuse. R. Adm. F. J. Bouvet. R. Adm. Nielly.	
1797.	The Battle of Cape St. Vincent.	Admiral Sir J. Jervis. V. Adm. W. Waldegrave. R. Adm. W. Parker.	... ...	Admiral J. de Cordova.
1798.	The Battle of the Nile.	R. Adm. Sir H. Nelson.	V. Adm. Brueys. R. Adm. H. Gant-eaume. R. Adm. A. Blanquet. R. Adm. P. Villeneuve. R. Adm. D. Decrès.	
1805.	The Battle of Trafalgar.	V. Adm. Lord Nelson. V. Adm. C. Collingwood. R. Adm. Earl of Northesk.	V. Adm. P. Villeneuve. R. Adm. Dumanoir-le-Pelley. R. Adm. C. Magon.	R. Adm. Cisneros. Adm. Gravina. R. Adm. Escano.

THE war between England and France was the natural result of the horror which ran through Europe after the execution of Louis XVI. on January 21st, 1793. The Girondists actually agreed with both the Mountain and the extreme Jacobins in being determined to propagate in all directions, by force of arms, the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity. It was, indeed, their object so to arouse the monarchs of other nations as to make it impossible for France to withdraw from the dangerous course upon which she had been launched. William Pitt was most averse to the war, and, had it not been for the direct provocation of France he would undoubtedly have imitated the policy of Walpole and adhered to the less perilous but less glorious paths of peace. In many ways peace would have been better for Eng-

land, because the war was now waged for no apparent object. There was no material gain to be got on either side ; and as the Whigs had foretold, England had to recognise the success of the Revolution eventually, and meantime was abetting the reactionary powers of the Continent. This situation was far from what had been desired by either the minister or the nation. After the war had continued for three years every one saw that it had placed Great Britain in a still more false position as interfering in the internal affairs of France. As Pitt openly acknowledged his determination to support the Bourbon claims to the throne of France, so he now stood, like Louis XIV. nearly a hundred years before, when he decided that the Old Pretender was to be King of England. The British people refused that kindly arrangement ; and the French at the end of the eighteenth century had feelings not unlike those of Englishmen in the reign of William III. If it had been possible, which it was not, it would have been better for Great Britain to have delayed her warlike preparations until Bonaparte had started his scandalous war of aggression. To wait, however, would have been to fail. Nor was it possible, for the French became intoxicated by their successes and forced Pitt to enter a war the length of which no one could have conceived.

England during the Great War was going through one of the most unsatisfactory periods of her history. It was an age of corruption, idiotic foppery, sycophancy, and sham. It is an astounding fact that these twenty years should have contained such extraordinary persons. The Prime Minister was a confirmed hard drinker, while the leader of the Opposition was a well-known libertine. The old King was blind and at times insane, while his disgraceful son, the Prince of Wales, was a dissolute rake. And yet, though the doors of society were closed to wisdom and virtue, it was an age of heroism, for it contains the names of such a sailor as Nelson, such a soldier as Wellington, and so splendid a statesman as the younger Pitt.

The British were well off indeed when they had such men as Howe, Jervis, and Nelson. The last was an honest man with noble sympathies and a lion-like courage. There was something in his nature of the virile Puritanism that had

formerly distinguished East Anglia, but, unlike those Puritans of the seventeenth century, there was a wonderful tenderness and gentleness that marked him as truly human. These more gentle characteristics were absent in the persons of Howe and Jervis, but they were, before all things, seamen. They were iron-hard, perhaps, and stamped their principles upon the navy, but no man can deny that they fashioned it into a splendid fighting force. Howe was particularly revered by his men, and was familiarly and affectionately known as Black Dick ; while Jervis won for himself more respect than enthusiastic love—he was not ungenerous, but he lacked the qualities of sympathy and inspiration.

When the war broke out the navy was well prepared for any attack the French might make, as such sea-dogs as Hood, Keppel, and Rodney had kept it in practice for many years. The importance of naval power had been realized and the British fleets were in excellent fighting trim, but the naval service was not popular at the beginning of the war because the life was rough and unwholesome. It is therefore all the more remarkable that the men serving on board these ships played so fine a part in the history of their country. The must unpromising materials, often impressed recruits, were somehow manufactured into first-class fighting men. Discipline was rigidly and harshly exacted ; punishments were barbarously cruel ; the food was villainously bad. Year in, year out, the sailors roughed it at sea, and months often elapsed without their putting a foot on shore, and yet throughout this war they fought like lions. The English officers knew their work, for they had a rough life to start with and became experienced seamen. The able-bodied sailors had also learnt to serve their guns far more smartly than the Frenchmen ; thus an English frigate fired three rounds to every one from the Republican vessels, and by this skill victories were gained.

With regard to the French navy everything was different. During the last years of the eighteenth century matters had been going from bad to worse. When the war broke out, although there were plenty of ships, the sailors were inefficient and incapable. The same cause that harmed the State also injured the navy. The brilliant theories of amateurs were applied to both, whereas the knowledge of practised experts

was what was required. Bertrand de Moleville, who was Minister of Marine, describes in his memoirs the difficulties of administration, when the Revolutionary propaganda had sapped discipline in the dockyards and the fleet. The old naval officers could not serve under a Republic. They could not bow before the rising tide, and when sovereignty was abolished three-fourths of their number had either voluntarily retired or been obliged to emigrate. This meant not only the employment of inexperienced men, but complete anarchy on board ships that needed the strictest discipline when pitted against the three-deckers of Great Britain.

The naval warfare of the period naturally falls into two divisions: in the Atlantic and in the Mediterranean. The work of Great Britain was first of all to take the French West Indian Islands. This task was accomplished between 1793 and 1796. Fortunately at this time there was a very strong military force in the British West Indian colonies. The soldiers displayed great bravery throughout the attacks on the French islands and very materially assisted the sailors in winning the fame that they so justly gained. In April, 1793, Sir John Laforey, with a large body of soldiers on board his fleet, sailed to seize Tobago, an island of some importance from strategic and commercial points of view. Fort Scarborough was taken with slight loss, and the island passed into the hands of the British. A month later a very much larger expedition was sent to Martinique to assist the French loyalists against the upholders of liberty, equality, and fraternity, which had been taught throughout the West Indies by Victor Hugues, a disciple of Robespierre. The troops were under the command of Major-General Bruce, but the expedition was an entire failure. Not so, however, the gallant adventure of Major Carless, supported by a fifty-gun ship. His small force struck terror into the hearts of the men in the huge batteries of Cape Nicholas Mole, and that place was added to the growing possessions of Great Britain in the West. During the next year Sir John Jervis took up the command in the Caribbean Sea, his coadjutor being Sir Charles Grey. Their first expedition was against Martinique, which was then under the command of the Revolutionary leader General Rochambeau. The united naval and military forces had the greatest difficulties to overcome, for they had to cut their way through

dense jungle and haul their guns up to a height which commanded the town. Colonel Eyre Coote, a brave son of a more celebrated father, here proved his skill by storming the redoubt without losing any of his men, and before many hours had passed the most valuable sugar island in the western Atlantic had become the property of King George III. Not content with this, Sir John Jervis sailed on board H.M.S. *Boyne* to Santa Lucia, which capitulated, an event soon followed by the surrender of Guadeloupe. Both were soon in a state of insurrection under the tricolour. Jervis was then succeeded in the West by Vice-Admiral Caldwell, whose arrival was celebrated by the capture of Cape Tiburon. The recapture of Guadeloupe by the French Republicans and the retreat of Lieut.-Colonel Drummond was a heavy blow for the British, who sustained another reverse in the evacuation of Santa Lucia, where the climate proved unhealthy for the English army. In fact in 1795 affairs looked hopeless in the West, for St. Vincent, Grenada, Dominique, and the southern part of Martinique broke into open rebellion; and the Royalist Frenchmen residing on these islands were brutally treated by their Republican brethren owing to the recognition and encouragement of every form of cruelty by Victor Hugues. Prosperity for the British dawned again in 1796. The revolted islands were reconquered by an expedition under Sir Ralph Abercromby and Sir John Moore. The people of Grenada, who were called brigands, were skilled mountaineers, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the British could contend against them, as they were well experienced in every form of annoyance without coming under fire. The troops scaled precipices in their attacks upon Fidon, the brigand chief, but it took weeks of fighting and hardship before they were successful. The recapture of Santa Lucia was particularly pleasing to the English, because it was realized that the island afforded a basis for military operations. They saw, too, as the French had seen before them, that commercially the island was most valuable; but, above all, the English merchants were delighted at the occupation of what had been the headquarters of the French privateers. In addition to these victories Admiral Christian in 1796 took possession of the Dutch islands in the West; and Great Britain was free to turn elsewhere.

Early in the war the supremacy of the English fleet was established in the Channel. In the spring of 1794 Lord Howe was at Spithead, not wishing to keep his heavy ships at sea during the stormy months. News reached him that some French vessels had put out to convoy a number of American and French merchantmen. The English fleet, as soon as possible weighed anchor, and, leaving six vessels under Montague, Howe looked into Brest, where he found the main French fleet stationed under the command of Rear-Admiral Villaret de Joyeuse.* Seeing that they were safely in harbour, he cruised backwards and forwards, but the Frenchmen managed to slip out. At that moment news arrived from Montague of the possible approach of the convoy. Howe joined his fellow admiral, and the fleets were now of equal size, but the inexperience of the French captains gave the advantage to the English. Fighting actually began on May 28th, and the fleets only ceased to fire in the hours of darkness and when the management of the ships became so complicated that a considerable distance separated the antagonists. By June 1st the British had won a gallant victory, although Howe has been blamed for allowing any of the Frenchmen to escape. But this is an unfair verdict, for he was a man of sixty-eight years of age and worn out with tremendous mental and physical fatigue.

After such a victory it is surprising to find that the British admirals exercised more than usual caution. They seemed to use the utmost care in economising the expenditure of the fleet, and the Channel squadron remained in port for four months. After putting out to sea, and failing to crush the French navy, it returned and stayed at Spithead well into the year 1795. It was in this year that the French forced the Dutch into war with Great Britain. The Reign of Terror had, from its own point of view, been perfectly successful. On the north-eastern frontier of France the armies of the Republic had been victorious. The Austrians and the Dutch had been obliged to retreat, and this had been followed by the conquest of Holland. By implication, the Dutch colonies became French possessions; and the unfortunate Dutch found themselves between the upper and nether millstones,

* L. T. Villaret de Joyeuse (1750–1812).

for on the one side they were threatened with the loss of their colonial possessions, while on the other the needy French were depriving them of the resources of their mercantile wealth. The British fleets in the Atlantic were ordered to seize every Dutch ship they met. Thus on June 19th eleven Dutch East Indiamen were taken by H.M.S. *Sceptre* and a few British merchantmen. The whole world lay before the British navy. Scattered in the far quarters of the globe were Dutch possessions, and fleets were sent east and west to sweep these into the net. On September 16th the Cape of Good Hope was taken by Admiral Elphinstone and General Clarke, while the main towns of Ceylon were also forced to submit to British rule. Elphinstone on August 17th, 1796, inflicted another crushing blow upon the Dutch fleet under Lucas in Saldanha Bay.

The British had also to contend with the Spanish, who had now thrown in their lot with the Republic of France. Sir John Jervis and Nelson, after cruising in the Mediterranean (see p. 80), as will be shown, passed through the Straits and encountered on February 14th, 1797, a large Spanish fleet of twenty-seven sail off Cape St. Vincent. The occasion was critical. The Spanish fleet was on its way to join the French off Brest and clear the Channel for an invasion of England. The Spanish ships were separated, and Nelson, with the keen insight of the true-born seaman, saw their weakest spot and ordered his ship to be cleared for action. He was rapidly followed by Troubridge in the *Culloden*, and the action began. At one particular period of this great battle of St. Vincent Nelson's ship was engaged by no less than nine of the enemy. Collingwood, who was afterwards to become so famous, now nobly played his part on H.M.S. *Excellent*. The whole navy fought well; the commanders won for themselves the admiration of posterity; and the battle of Cape St. Vincent will ever remain one of the proudest victories of British naval history. A few months later, on July 24th, Nelson, now an admiral and a knight, gained for himself still further renown by his expedition to Teneriffe and his wild attack upon the batteries of Santa Cruz, where he lost his arm.

In the meantime the sailors were becoming restless. As has already been said, the navy was a rough school, where

men were knocked about, cruelly ill-treated, and shamefully fed. During the spring of 1797 a spirit of mutiny spread throughout the fleet, and a serious conspiracy was discovered at Spithead. The sailors wanted redress of grievances, and in truth these were bad enough. The pay of the navy was the same as it had been in the reign of Charles II., while the cost of living had risen thirty or forty per cent. The seamen pleaded that too often their officers were appointed by interest and influence, and that the promotion of really good, honest men was thereby checked. Barefaced peculation of funds was common, and owing to the dishonesty of contractors their food was seldom fit to eat. They considered that the captain had too much arbitrary power, and that he frequently misused it. For these reasons the fleet of Admiral Lord Bridport refused to put to sea. The men behaved very well and sent a petition to the Admiralty from delegates in conference on H.M.S. *Queen Charlotte;* to this the Admiralty sent an evasive reply. Mutiny at once began in earnest, the red flag was flown, and the guns were loaded. The Admiralty then came to its senses, and by the advice of old Lord Howe a free pardon was granted, all claims were conceded, and the men at Spithead immediately returned to their duty. This mutiny was succeeded by a semi-political outbreak in May and June at the Nore. The rising began on board H.M.S. *Sandwich,* at that time the flagship of Admiral Buckner. The ringleader was a well-educated man, called William Parker, who had formerly been an officer, but owing to degradation was now serving as a seaman. Under his haughty influence the men demanded political rights, the revision of the Articles of War, and the dismissal of officers not agreeable to the ship's company. Parker was met in a friendly spirit by Lord Spencer, the First Lord of the Admiralty, but the seaman, puffed up by his own importance, only insulted the man who was ready to listen to honest and open complaints. The mutineers then went from bad to worse ; they fired upon some frigates of the fleet the crews of which had refused to join them. Vigorous measures were at once taken ; they were cut off from the shore, surrounded by the loyal ships, and were forced to give way. Parker was apprehended and, with two or three of the ringleaders, hanged from the yardarm ; the rank and file were not

severely punished, for the Admiralty knew only too well how serious the abuses in the navy were.

During the insurrection at the Nore Admiral Duncan had been blockading the Dutch navy in the ports of Holland. The greater part of his fleet had mutinied and joined their comrades in England, but the admiral had cleverly hoodwinked the Dutch by continually signalling to a large imaginary fleet below the horizon. In October, the sailors having once more recovered their patriotic fervour and forgotten their personal grievances, Duncan set out from Yarmouth to attack the Dutch. The English admiral carried out a very dangerous piece of strategy, for he brought his ships between the shore and the Dutch fleet. The admiral's skill, however, proved highly valuable, for on October 11th he utterly defeated Van Winter * off Camperdown, south of the Texel.

This battle, taken with that of Cape St. Vincent, put an end to any immediate danger of invasion, which was fortunate, for British ministers were now busy with troubles at home. It was at this period that England required her fleets to watch the Irish coasts and prevent the landing of small French expeditions. Ever since 1795, when Wolfe Tone and Lord Edward Fitzgerald had started revolutionary ideas, numerous French attempts had been made to pour into that distracted island armed bodies of men. By 1797 the whole of the north of Ireland was in tumult, and in May, 1798, the Irish rebellion devastated the land. But both Grouchy's † and Humbert's ‡ expeditions to the west coast failed and General Lake succeeded in crushing the rebels at Vinegar Hill. Nevertheless the Atlantic squadron was obliged to be ever watchful and remain in home waters.

In another part of Europe Great Britain's navy had for some years been playing a conspicuous part in the world's history. The importance of the Mediterranean had long been recognized by that nation, but perhaps more vividly when the principles of revolutionary France endangered the exist-

* J. W. van Winter (1750–1812).

† Emmanuel, Marquis de Grouchy (1766–1847); distinguished himself in Italy and at Hohenlinden, Eylau, Friedland, and Wagram; took part in the Moscow campaign and covered the retreat at Leipzic.

‡ Jean Joseph Humbert (1755–1823); at one time a dealer in rabbit skins; died in America.

ence of all people. Commercially, politically, and strategically, it was essential for Great Britain, if she were to retain her sea power, to keep her grip upon that inland sea. Sea power had brought financial success, for not only was British commerce protected, but it gave to that country the power of destroying the commerce of others. In addition to this, by means of her supreme position on the ocean, territories were gained which in the future would further commerce and serve as naval stations at which ships could be refitted and their limited stores replaced. Our foreign allies, during the period of the Great War, found that it was economically wise to allow Great Britain to control the sea. The coalitions for this reason confined themselves to supporting large armies against Bonaparte, and Great Britain became the world-power with the unconscious acquiescence of Austria, Russia, and Prussia.

When war was declared in 1793 the British fleet in the Mediterranean was not a powerful force. But by June it had been improved, and Lord Hood, with nineteen vessels of the line, appeared off Toulon to blockade the French fleet in the harbour. The inhabitants of Toulon, as has been shown, were not revolutionary in character, and, perceiving that their food supplies might be endangered, with their admiral, Trogoff, capitulated to Hood. This was at the moment a distinct advantage for the British, but very soon our allies of Spain and Naples sailed into Toulon Harbour with natural results. Such a mixture of nationalities, interests, and ambitions were hardly likely to pull together. The revolutionary party saw their opportunity and at once took steps to recapture the port. The actual fighting material employed by the French was at the time wretchedly poor, but the allies were not in a position to take advantage of their opportunities. The want of discipline occasioned by the Declaration of the Rights of Man was fully compensated for by the rival ambitions of the powers. The siege of the French on the land side of Toulon proceeded with such vigour that when Bonaparte took Fort Mulgrave it was evident that the English could hold out no longer, and in December Lord Hood evacuated the French arsenal and took his fleet a few miles east to a safe anchorage off Hyères.

The British now found that the station of Gibraltar was

not sufficient to assure them the complete control of the Mediterranean. Gibraltar, lying at the mouth of that sea, was too far removed from the French coast and from the seat of war. Corsica, on the other hand, seemed to the strategists of the day to be the very place from which to direct out vessels and to which they might return for food and supplies. The Corsicans were filled with a deep distrust and hatred of the French people and accepted the suzerainty of Great Britain on June 17th, 1794. From a naval point of view Corsica was not absolutely perfect, because it lay in the stormy track of the mistral and not in the Mediterranean of the poet. But it was near to Northern Italy, for about thirty leagues of water separated the island from either Genoa or Nice. It was most centrally situated, and the French might have snapped it up and forced the British to retire to Gibraltar. But, above all, as the grander aspects of naval war had given way to more lucrative commerce destruction, no better place than Corsica could have been found from which to harass the merchantmen of France and Spain. All ships going from Barcelona to Leghorn or from Constantinople to Marseilles were forced to run the gauntlet of English frigates and privateers. For these reasons, then, the island was taken over, and in 1795 Sir Gilbert Elliot * was made viceroy and opened a parliament.

The Corsicans soon wearied of their new rulers, and, although a revolt was suppressed in June, 1796, it became evident that the island was no longer tenable, and it was evacuated on October 22nd. One reason for this change of feeling was the extending power of Bonaparte, whose wonderful success in Northern Italy materially affected the position of the British navy. After Italy was made to feel the weight of Napoleonic wrath it was impossible for the British to obtain supplies from the harbours of Tuscany, Naples and the Papal States. Besides this, the Corsicans themselves feared that the restless ambition of Bonaparte might force him to pay a visit to his old home, and they dreaded his coming with the English there. The intrigues that were now carried on from Genoa or Leghorn caused the British admirals to realize that it would be better for them

* Afterwards first Earl of Minto (1751–1814).

to make their headquarters in the island of Elba, which, being smaller, would be much easier to hold, and they could still preserve the principles of British sea-power in the Mediterranean. It was impossible, however, for the British to assert predominance after Admiral Mann with two-thirds of the fleet had left for England. Sir John Jervis and Nelson were both sterling men and born seamen, but they could not accomplish impossibilities with fifteen ships of the line. It must have been a mortifying position for Jervis, who, being possessed of a cool and rapid professional judgment and filled with an unflinching determination to succeed, had now to acknowledge that the Mediterranean must be evacuated (see page 75).

The British Admiralty in the spring of 1798 at last woke up to the fact that the French fleet dominated the Mediterranean, while not a single English ship patrolled its waters. The nation began to exhibit anxiety as to what Bonaparte was doing with the French and Spanish fleets at Toulon. He was preparing his vast Egyptian expedition, the ulterior object of which was the conquest of India. The immediate schemes of Bonaparte were stated in the secret decree drawn up by himself and signed by the Directors on April 12th. "The army of the East," he says, "shall take possession of Egypt; the commander-in-chief shall chase the English from all their possessions in the East which he can reach, and in particular he shall destroy all their *comptoirs* in the Red Sea. He shall have the Isthmus of Suez cut through, and he shall take all the steps necessary to assure the free and exclusive possession of the Red Sea to the French Republic. He shall ameliorate by all the means in his power the lot of the natives of Egypt. He shall maintain as far as it depends on him a good understanding with the Grand Signor and his immediate subjects." There is, however, no doubt that Bonaparte's schemes did not end here. Ever since the days of Clive the English had been the predominant European power in the East. Clive's victories at Chandernagore, Plassey and Chinsurah, together with Sir Eyre Coote's triumph over Lally at Wandewash, had established the English position upon the ruins of the Mogul Empire. But in Europe in 1798 Great Britain was not so powerful as she had been. She was left without allies to struggle against the power and enmity of

France, which had not as yet reached its zenith. Bonaparte had only recently started on the marvellous career that has made his name world-famed. It was only now that that name was beginning to be whispered with awe and admiration from India to the northern forests of Canada, from Hudson's Bay to Cape Colony. He had by October, 1797, placed Austria *hors de combat* owing to the military brilliance of his campaign in Northern Italy. He now looked forward to the time when he could repay the many grudges France owed to England. What better opportunity, what more glorious, what more astounding, than to make a dash on India and once more establish the French power in the East, and rebuild and recreate the shattered hopes of Dupleix * and Labourdonnais !† This was what Napoleon was preparing at Toulon ; this was why he made his expedition to Egypt. He gazed into the future, and hoped that by his great military genius, by his command over men, by his indefatigable work, he might set back the stream of destiny. He imagined that by his means the steady decline of France as a colonial power might be checked, and that England might be forced to disgorge some at least of the many colonial acquisitions which she had gained during the last fifty years. It was this colonial and commercial aspect of Bonaparte's Eastern policy that particularly stirred Great Britain and forced William Pitt to redouble his efforts and to form a new alliance.

Bonaparte's dreams were shattered before summer was over. Nelson had been watching Toulon, but his ships were scattered by a gale, and when they had reassembled they found the bird had flown. Bonaparte had sailed from Toulon ; Nelson started in pursuit with orders to go to every part of the Mediterranean, and if necessary to pass the Dardanelles and sail round the Black Sea. Bonaparte first sailed to Malta, which he took from the Knights of St. John, for he quickly recognized the strategical value of that island stronghold. Nelson overshot the French fleet, but on his return, touching at Corfu, he heard news which made him put about and sail to Alexandria, where he found the harbour full of French shipping. With reckless

* Joseph, Marquis Dupleix (1695–1754).

† Bertrand François Mahé de Labourdonnais (1699–1753).

courage the English captains determined to sail in, although there was considerable danger from sandbanks. Captain Troubridge had the misfortune to run his ship aground, and was unable to take any part in the great Battle of the Nile on August 1st, 1798. The results of this contest were prodigious. Nelson, with skill and daring, defeated an enemy of superior force; but beyond this he was the first to inflict a crushing blow upon the colossal schemes of Bonaparte. He not only saved the greater part of the Ottoman Empire from the aggressions of the French, but also rescued the Indian Empire from future invasion. Bonaparte, like Alexander, sought other worlds to conquer; to him the rich and resplendent territories of India seemed for a moment to lie almost within his grasp, but by the brilliant performance of the British seamen this second Alexander was turned back.

The year 1798 was the turning point in the uphill game. The island of Minorca, with its important harbour Port Mahon, was taken, and by the end of that year the whole of that inland sea was under the control of the British navy, while only two French ships of the line were left to dispute that power. In the following year France tried to renew her past glories under Admiral Bruix, who was opposed for some months by Lord St. Vincent, and later by Admiral Keith. Two things caused Nelson particular annoyance at this time. The first was Sir Sydney Smith's continual proposals to dissolve the blockade of Alexandria; but Nelson changed his mind concerning this gallant man when he utterly destroyed the enemy's forces off Acre on May 20th. "As an individual and as an admiral," wrote Nelson to Smith, "will you accept my feeble praise and admiration, and make them acceptable to all under your command?" Nelson was far more irritated when he learnt the news that Bonaparte and his generals had been able to slip through the British fleet and land in France. Nevertheless, the British navy had re-established its power in the Mediterranean, and in 1800 Bonaparte's efforts to save Malta proved fruitless and General Vaubois was obliged to capitulate.

The Treaty of Amiens, as will be shown, lasted but one brief year. The last naval scenes of the Napoleonic epoch were now enacted, and it is of this heroic period that Captain Mahan has said, "the world has never seen a more impressive

demonstration of the influence of sea-power upon its history." Blockading the ports of France was the main policy of the British, and heart-breaking work it was for those weather-beaten sailors. Brest was commanded by one fleet; Rochefort by another; and Nelson himself patrolled the sea before Toulon, where Villeneuve and a large fleet lay snug. Gales were continuous; the ships were often scattered; and yet Villeneuve sat tight. At last in the spring of 1805 Nelson was driven off, and Villeneuve * set out to help his master, who was watching from Boulogne for a moment to cross. Bonaparte had said, "Let us be masters of the Straits for six hours and we are masters of the world"; but he was never allowed to be in that position because of the storm-beaten ships of Britain's navy. For two years Nelson had never left his vessel; during that period he had worked and struggled for the safety of his country. He was now called upon to pursue Villeneuve to the West Indies, which he reached only to find that the Frenchman had turned again. This serious news was sent by a swift-sailing brig to the Admiralty, and while Cornwallis kept Ganteaume † safely shut up in Brest, Sir Robert Calder encountered Villeneuve off Ferrol, but allowed him, of his own free will, to turn south.

It was reserved for Nelson to put a final conclusion to Napoleon's dreams of invasion. After a brief period ashore Nelson again put to sea, and on October 21st utterly crushed the combined navies of France and Spain off Cape Trafalgar. The English fleet, advancing in double column, broke the French line in two places and captured more than half of the enemy's vessels. It must unquestionably be acknowledged that the Battle of Trafalgar, in which England's great Admiral was killed, fixed the destiny of his beloved country. It was not merely a great naval victory, but in its results it exceeded any victories that the French won during the whole period of struggle. The passionate desire of Bonaparte to invade England was for ever checked. That this had practically been accomplished in August is an indisputable fact, for when Villeneuve was obliged to turn south the Emperor's schemes had failed. But it needed the decisive

* P. C. J. B. S. de Villeneuve (1763-1806); did splendid service in the Battle of the Nile.

† J. H. Comte Ganteaume (1755-1818).

victory of Trafalgar to assure Great Britain of absolute freedom. As Bonaparte had failed to crush the British navy, he now turned to other possible means of breaking the spirit of the British nation, and hoped by excluding British commerce from continental ports to at last conquer a country that seemed otherwise impregnable. The Continental System, by which Napoleon attempted to execute his design, failed. By the Orders in Council the English Government retaliated, and the mercantile marine of Europe was destroyed. The raw materials from the colonies beyond the seas reached England alone, and, at a time when the great mechanical inventions of the 18th century enabled her to take advantage of them, gave her manufactures a commanding superiority. Northern Europe suffered heavily by the loss of imported foodstuffs, and the Continental System helped to exasperate the population against Napoleon. Trafalgar had less important results than this. One was that, since invasion was no longer possible, the English garrisons could be reduced. This change in the military system was in a few years' time extremely valuable. It liberated many soldiers for use in the Peninsular War. The wreck of Napoleon's schemes at Boulogne turned the thoughts of that extraordinary genius once again to the East. It may have been that his fascination for Eastern territory was due to a strain of Eastern blood inherited from his Corsican ancestors, or possibly he had been stimulated by reading the proposals of Liebnitz to Louis XIV. when a policy of aggrandisement in the land of the Pyramids had been strenuously advocated ; but, whatever the reason, Bonaparte from the earliest period of his career never lost sight of the possibilities of Turkey and beyond. After Trafalgar he found that it would be easier to transport his veterans from Paris to the Khaibar Pass than to tranship them across twenty-two miles of the English Channel. From 1805 to 1807 a fresh march on India was never lost sight of, and he placed renewed hopes in the young Czar Alexander I. This, like so many of his visions, was destined to be a mere phantasm and nothing more.

The defeat of Napoleon's attempt to wrest the command of the sea from England may be considered the culminating success of Pitt's war policy. He was to die in the following

year in the shadow of the defeat of Austerlitz, but, on a general review, his conduct of the war does not seem to deserve Macaulay's severity. The policy of assisting the insurgent forces in France was erroneous, and the dissipation of resources in distant expeditions has been criticised. But his policy had the signal merit of exhausting the resources of France, and the overwhelming success of English sea power drove Napoleon to the commercial expedients which helped to undermine his empire.

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CONTEMPORARY EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

1801. The Expedition to Copenhagen.
The English forced the French to evacuate Egypt.
1802. The Treaty of Amiens.
The conspiracy of Colonel Despard.
1803. Great Britain renewed the war with France.
The rebellion of Emmet.
1804. George III. again became ill.
Addington resigned.
Pitt again became Prime Minister.
Lord Melville was impeached.
1805. Calder fought Villeneuve off Cape Finisterre.
The Battle of Trafalgar.

CHAPTER IV

THE NAPOLEONIC WAR

1802–1807

NAPOLEON'S MARSHALS

L. A. Berthier	1753–1815.	J. Lannes	1769–1809.	V. C. Victor	1764–1841.
J. Murat	1767–1815.	A. E. Mortier	1768–1835.	J. E. Macdonald	1765–1840.
A. J. Moncey	1754–1842.	M. Ney	1769–1815.	N. C. Oudinot	1767–1847.
J. B. Jourdan	1762–1833.	L. N. Davout	1770–1823.	A. F. Marmont	1774–1852.
A. Masséna	1756–1817.	J. B. Bessières	1768–1813.	L. G. Suchet	1770–1826.
C. P. Augereau	1757–1816.	F. C. Kellermann	1735–1820.	L. Saint-Cyr	1764–1830.
J. B. Bernadotte	1763–1844.	F. J. Lefebvre	1755–1820.	J. Prince Poniatowski	1762–1813.
J. N. Soult	1769–1851.	D. C. de Pérignon	1754–1818.	E. de Grouchy	1766–1847.
G. M. Brune	1763–1815.	J. M. Sérurier	1742–1819.		

THE Treaty of Amiens was not destined to last long. Napoleon turned to a number of projects connected with the renewal of war. Expeditions were equipped for Louisiana, Madagascar, and India. Public works were undertaken, and plans laid for an industrial revival in France. In September, 1802, Piedmont was incorporated in France; the organisation of the Cisalpine Republic proceeded; Holland, on which Napoleon had bestowed a Constitution in the autumn of 1801, remained in the hands of a French army. Switzerland, where Napoleon had already intervened without effecting a settlement, was invaded, and in February, 1803, the government was reorganised by the Act of Mediation. This consisted of certain regulations by which the Helvetic Republic was turned into a Swiss confederation of nineteen cantons divided into three classes and enjoying sovereign power. The first were the rural cantons, having popular assemblies for which bills were prepared by a Grand Council, while the executive was in the hands of a smaller body. The second class was urban with a senate, council, representative body, a burgomaster and supreme magistrate, and their character may be regarded as purely aristocratic. The last division was democratic, and comprised the subject districts, possessing both grand and petty councils. It is now for

the first time that the Swiss cantons are known as Switzerland. All the States had to conform to the Federal contract, and could not conclude separate alliances. In many ways the Act of Mediation was distinctly beneficial. It restored peace to a distracted country, though it did not take into sufficient consideration the true interests of the Swiss people. The population was, however, generally satisfied with the working of the Act from a domestic point of view, and they welcomed Bonaparte as the restorer of their liberties. This was an erroneous view of his work, for he had no intention of forming a compact and united Switzerland. He had taken great care that the Swiss should require French guardianship, and for the next eleven years they had no real and separate existence, but were beneath the yoke of the Emperor.

The English Government protested against Napoleon's interference in Switzerland. There were many other grounds of complaint on both sides. Napoleon denounced the licence of the English Press and demanded that the Government should protect him against its assaults. The English Ministers declined to pay attention. Their efforts to induce Napoleon to evacuate Holland were equally unsuccessful; Napoleon retorted by denying that it was legitimately a matter of interest to England, since the promise to evacuate had only been made in the Franco-Dutch Convention at The Hague. On his side he demanded that England should fulfil the conditions of the Treaty of Amiens by evacuating Malta. Relations were further strained by the publication, in the semi-official *Moniteur*, of an account of the English occupation of Egypt by Colonel Sebastiani, an officer who had been on a mission there. The British forces were disparaged, and the prospect of conquest by the French was discussed. Napoleon's preparations and the scenes to which he treated Lord Whitworth convinced the English Government that he intended to renew the war at the first opportunity. It is uncertain whether or not Napoleon was really bent on forcing the issue. He showed signs of consenting to an accommodation, but would not make any concessions, though the English ambassador was instructed to promise secretly that Malta should be restored as soon as Holland was evacuated. War was declared in May, 1803, and all the English tourists in France had the misfortune to be imprisoned. General Mortier

at once took the initiative and occupied Hanover. In Prussia Haugwitz was at the head of affairs, and by his advice Frederick William III. refused to move. The French therefore blockaded the mouth of the Elbe, and although Lombard, the son of a French settler at Berlin, was sent to remonstrate, no notice was taken. This had the effect of rousing once again the displeasure of the Czar of Russia, and a general European war was soon in full progress.

The interval of peace had been a period of great activity in the process of codifying French law. The work was carried out by sound lawyers, and parts of it bear the imprint of Napoleon's own imagination. The Civil Code, passed into law on March 21st, 1804, is remarkable, among other things, for the authority given to paternal discipline, the subjection of women, the jealous restriction of divorce, and the encouragement of the subdivision of property. It was followed by the Code of Civil Procedure in 1806, the Commercial Code in 1807, the Code of Criminal Procedure in 1808, and the Penal Code in 1810. In such matters as the use of the jury and belief in civil equality and religious toleration the Codes preserved the essentials of the revolutionary spirit. No one can deny that they were clear and compact. In France the Civil Code was regarded as the symbol of enlightened despotism, while in Germany and Italy it was thought to embody a new spirit and to contain the elements of liberty. On the other hand, it is equally clear that, masterly as was the production of these laws, they show distinct signs of hurried and premature formation, and they are not without evidences of political passion. The stamp of the late Empire is impressed upon the barbarous regulations of the Penal Code. The working man and the future of industrial life were both alike unregarded. The clauses have been characterized as an amalgam of revolutionary doctrines with the principles of the *ancien régime*, but it is also obvious that Bonaparte was making a definite attempt to subject the law to his own personal rule. While this Code was being drawn up Royalist plots were keeping the French Government continually on the alert. The most celebrated of these was in February, 1804. It was formed by a Chouan, Georges Cadoudal * and General Pichegru, with whom it was supposed

* Georges Cadoudal (1771–1804); had led the Chouans since 1793.

Moreau would join. It was supported by the British, and had for its object the enthronement of the Comte d'Artois. Bonaparte crushed it at once ; Cadoudal was executed, and Pichegru only escaped that indignity by committing suicide in prison. But the French authorities went even further than this in their attack upon the Royal family. They dared to encroach upon German territory at Baden and kidnapped the Duc d'Enghien, son of the Duc de Bourbon, and shot him in cold blood in Vincennes on March 21st. This was a great mistake for Napoleon to have made, and Talleyrand was right when he said that it was worse than a crime, for it was a blunder.

Napoleon seized the opportunity of France being stifled with terror, and in May was proclaimed Emperor by a decree of the Senate. He had naturally to buy his friendships, and so rewarded his generals with marshals' batons, and purchased the good will of Cambacérès and Lebrun by bestowing upon them the offices of arch-chancellor and arch-treasurer. In December, 1804, Napoleon was crowned Emperor in Notre Dame. The ceremony was of the utmost magnificence, and was not without its obvious warning, for although Pope Pius VII. was present he was not allowed to perform the actual coronation. Napoleon was determined that there should be no misunderstanding as to the person from whom he received his crown, and so placed the emblem of power upon his own head.

The state of Europe when Napoleon assumed the title of Emperor was far from satisfactory. In England an advantageous change was made when Addington resigned the Premiership and the more able Pitt took up the administration of affairs at the most critical period in British history. The Emperor was at Boulogne watching with anxious eyes for the exact moment that was to make him master of the world. But, as has been shown, that great opportunity never came owing to the skill of British admirals and the pluck of British seamen. In Russia the ambition of Alexander had at last been stirred. He began to awake from the hypnotic influence that Napoleon had exercised over him, and with energy prepared for, what he imagined, a death struggle. The Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire understood that his title was shaky in the extreme ; he read aright the meaning of

Napoleon's title; he realized that the Empire that had so long existed in name was drawing to an ignominious conclusion. Nor could Francis II. offer any serious resistance to this probable result of Napoleon's action. The whole of Austria was weak and torpid, and the Emperor's most faithful general, the Archduke Charles, was confronted with insuperable difficulties, not the least being the old-fashioned routine and the universal corruption. Although Charles had given way to General Mack, confusion and incompetence became more and more evident. Cobenzl,* the first minister, was a clever diplomatist, but nothing else; the country was ill-educated, owing to the priests, and, on the whole, extremely backward. Liberal opinions hardly existed, and even if they had done so, to make them known would have been impossible with a rigorous censorship of the Press controlled and regulated by the police. Nor was the commerce of Austria any more advanced than her military or educational systems; and as yet she had been entirely untouched by the industrial revolution. The mediæval regulations which controlled trade and checked competition were still as rigid and binding as they had been centuries before. Austria's rival in future years, Prussia, was in no happier condition. Frederick William III. was pusillanimous in his decisions, and, although he had been aroused in 1803 by Napoleon's impudent attack on Hanover, his ardour lasted only long enough to begin negotiations with Russia for warlike preparations, from which he immediately retreated. Spain had been forced into a humiliating treaty in 1800 with the all-powerful First Consul. Belgium had also bowed before him when he made a triumphal progress through that country to the Rhine. Nor was the Batavian Republic too insignificant to escape his notice, for he had ordered its reorganization under Schimmelpenninck. In Italy Napoleon was particularly active in 1805; the Italian Republic was converted into a kingdom and the Emperor was declared King, his stepson, Eugene Beauharnais, being appointed his viceroy. French aggression did not stop here, for Genoa was annexed to France, while Parma and Piacenza were incorporated within the Italian kingdom, which was again enlarged; and in December the unhappy Austria

* Louis, Count Cobenzl (1753–1808).

by the Treaty of Pressburg was forced to cede the Venetian States. Nepotism was rife, and Napoleon's brother-in-law, Bacciocchi, was presented with Lucca as a principality. Even America, the so-called land of liberty, was on friendly terms with the despot owing to the recent purchase of Louisiana from France. Napoleon, therefore, had reached the very summit of influence when the war was renewed in 1805.

Crushed and terrified as were the powers of Europe, Great Britain still retained sea-power and remained unconquered. William Pitt succeeded in April in forming the third coalition against France, having as his allies Russia, Austria, and Sweden. It was solemnly agreed amongst these nations that no separate treaties should be made, and that they should all make common cause to restore the territory of Piedmont to the King of Sardinia and abolish the rule of France in Italy, Holland, and Hanover. Prussia foolishly held out from this alliance against the advice of the more energetic Haugwitz, who retired in favour of Hardenberg.* The new minister was a man who readily grasped both political and social ideas, but, at this moment, he entirely failed to realize the dangers to which Prussia was exposed at the hands of Napoleon.

The invasion of England having proved an expensive fiasco, Napoleon rushed across Europe to meet his other enemies. He was joined by the Electors of Baden and Würtemberg and by Marshal Bernadotte, who marched north from Hanover. On October 20th the Austrian army under General Mack was obliged to capitulate to the triumphant Emperor at Ulm. The results of this French victory were most disastrous for the coalition. The advancing Russian army under Kutusoff was forced to retire, and fell back to where Alexander I. was stationed with his main army. The Archduke John evacuated the Tyrol; and the Archduke Charles, who had feebly attacked Masséna in Italy, retired into Hungary. Murat succeeded in entering the Austrian capital, and all seemed hopeless. The action of the French had, however, one important effect; when Bernadotte sent

* Karl August, Prince von Hardenberg (1750-1822); became a Prussian minister 1791; first minister 1803; dismissed 1806; appointed chancellor 1810; created a prince 1814; present at the Congress of Vienna 1815; reorganized Council of State 1817; a great reformer.

troops through Anspach the neutrality of Prussia had been violated. This was almost enough to rouse Frederick William III., but it needed a visit from Alexander I. to clinch the bargain at the Treaty of Potsdam, by which Prussia became a member of the coalition.

Napoleon had now entered upon one of his periods of headlong conquest. He marched through Bohemia into Moravia, and reached its capital, Brünn. He selected his ground for the coming contest with the greatest care. He knew that he had to meet the forces of Russia and Austria, and that he had to win to retain his power. Had it not been for the rashness of Alexander I. the Battle of Austerlitz, or "The Battle of the three Emperors," on December 2nd, 1805, might have been very different, for Weyrother, the chief of the Austrian staff, had drawn up the most elaborate plans to crush the French. As it proved, the Battle of Austerlitz was the most complete victory on land during the whole of the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. It had the most far-reaching and astonishing results, and, although it could never undo the work accomplished at Trafalgar, it placed Napoleon upon the giddiest of heights. In one battle the mighty armament of all the Russians was driven to headlong retreat. The newly-allied Prussia had, in a moment, fallen beneath the power of Napoleon, and was compelled on December 15th to make the humiliating Treaty of Schönbrunn. Neufchatel and Cleves were handed over to the French, while Anspach was surrendered to the hated Bavaria. Certainly Prussia by this treaty was to receive Hanover, but that province was bought at the high price of alliance with the Emperor. It meant that the once proud kingdom of Frederick the Great was to become a servile follower of the Corsican upstart. Nor was Austria any more fortunate in the Treaty of Pressburg, which was forced upon her by Talleyrand on December 26th. As has already been mentioned, the Emperor was obliged to recognise Napoleon as King of Italy and to cede to him the Venetian States. Once again Bavaria was rewarded by the acquisition of part of the Austrian Tyrol; and the Elector of Würtemberg was raised to the dignity of a monarch. There can be little doubt that Austerlitz hastened the death of William Pitt, which took place on January 23rd, 1806. This was an irreparable loss

to England, seen only too vividly in the action of the next Cabinet, known as "All the Talents."

The Battle of Austerlitz had a remarkable effect upon Napoleon himself. It filled his head with chimerical ideas of forming an all-powerful empire to dominate Europe. His conduct from this moment became more arrogant and more aggressive. Nothing seemed to stop the effect of this man's overwhelming presence, power, and personality. Holland, or the Batavian Republic, was converted into a kingdom under Louis Bonaparte and Hortense Beauharnais.* His younger brother Jerome was forced, by this dictator of politics and morals, to divorce his wife, and was only restored to favour when he helped on the ambition of the Bonaparte house by marrying Catherine, the daughter of the newly created King of Würtemberg. Out of the Venetian States twelve fiefs were carved as rewards for the marshals who had helped the Emperor to gain so great a triumph. The culmination of his schemes seemed to have been reached when on August 6th, 1806, the ancient Holy Roman Empire, the most lasting memorial of a glorious but not unchequered past, ceased to exist. Interesting as this was, it had not the political importance that attached to the formation by Talleyrand of the Confederation of the Rhine Provinces under the protection of Napoleon. This was indeed the most striking result of the victory at Austerlitz. The Confederation included Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, Berg, and nine lesser members. Dalberg, the Archbishop of Ratisbon, was appointed Prince Primate, while the capital of the Confederation was to be the town of Frankfort. The feudal system was abolished, and the *ritterschaft*, or lesser tenants in chief, lost their property, which was mediatised or annexed to the province. In addition to all these arbitrary acts, Napoleon, without any hesitation as to rights and wrongs, sent an army to the south of Italy and deposed Ferdinand of Naples, and appointed Joseph Bonaparte to reign in his stead. From a domestic point of view this was by no means a loss for the Neapolitans, but rather a distinct gain, for Joseph did his best for his new subjects, and during his rule, with the assistance of

* Daughter of Alexandre, Vicomte de Beauharnais (1760–94); sister of Eugène (1781–1824).

Roederer,* attempted to carry out some excellent reforms. The finances of Naples were for the first time put upon a sound basis, and the French system of audit was introduced. The hateful method of tax-collecting by means of rapacious farmers was abolished, and the simpler form of an income tax took the place of innumerable and tiresome burdens. Education was not neglected, and schools were erected in the communes, while higher branches of learning were taught in a college attached to each province. The ancient systems of feudalism, primogeniture, and entail were abolished, and, as in France, the land was given to small proprietors, a scheme made still more possible by the confiscation of the monastic properties of St. Bernard and St. Benedict. Trial by jury was not allowed, but the other benefits of the French judicial system were introduced, though the reforms of the penal laws and the prisons were not advanced very far. Joseph was only stopped in his good works by the absurd ambition of his brother, who transferred him from Naples to Spain in 1808.

It is to be noticed that the turning point of Napoleon's career was not his outburst of greed and vanity after the Battle of Austerlitz, nor even, important though it was, the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine, but rather when he stirred the national spirit of Prussia by his unexampled oppression. The Prussians in 1806 were roused to a warlike spirit partly because they imagined that England was ready to ally with France in exchange for Hanover, but more particularly because of the enthusiasm kindled by Queen Louisa of Mecklenburg and Prince Louis Ferdinand. Unfortunately for Prussia, she was at the moment alone in her desire for a continuance of fighting. She was by no means in a satisfactory state. The brilliant victories of Frederick the Great had gradually been forgotten, and had had no effect upon internal improvement. The Prussian nation had for fifty years been steadily declining as a power, and internally required drastic reforms to pull it from the slough of rottenness into which it had sunk. Neither officers nor men in the army were really formidable; while Frederick the Great's school, good as it had been, was now old-fashioned and ineffective. The country lacked responsible government; the

* P. L. Comte de Roederer (1754–1835).

people had no share and little interest in the affairs of the nation; and the ministers were merely the King's officials, and were seldom, if ever, in his entire confidence.

Forgetful of these shortcomings, an army, under Brunswick, was despatched against the trained veterans of France. Prince Louis Ferdinand was killed at Saalfeld. Disaster followed disaster. Brunswick retreated to Magdeburg, leaving Hohenlohe to hold Jena. Here on October 14th Napoleon utterly routed the Prussian force; and on the same day Davout defeated Brunswick at Auerstädt. Once again Napoleon had inflicted a crushing blow upon a European power; he had added fresh laurels to the many already gained, and had the satisfaction of seeing, what all the Powers imagined to be the case, the Prussian monarchy not only humbled but practically non-existent. Erfurt, Halle, Cüstrin, Spandau, and Stettin, once formidable fortresses, now passed into the hands of the all-conquering French. Blücher,* in after years so famous, held out courageously in Lübeck for a time, until at last that fortress gave way to the onrush of a French storming party. Napoleon played the same game as he had done after Austerlitz. His relations and friends must be rewarded, and so the rulers of Hesse-Cassel and Brunswick were deposed, and from these States the kingdom of Westphalia arose. The Elector of Saxony was allowed to purchase pardon and was created a King, being forced to join the Rhine Confederation.

It was at this juncture, as a direct result of his failure at Trafalgar and his great victories at Austerlitz and Jena, that Napoleon introduced the "Continental System" by which he hoped to break the spirit of the British nation and place such a yoke upon the necks of the Continental powers as to keep them his humble and submissive servants. To accomplish this he issued the "Berlin Decrees" in November, 1806. By these most important enactments he declared the British Isles to be in a state of blockade. He gave to his subjects and those who were beneath his iron heel the right to confiscate all British merchandise, and threatened with his dire displeasure all who

* Gebhard Leberecht von Blücher (1742–1819); Prince of Wahlstadt; colonel of hussars 1793; lieutenant-general at Auerstädt 1806; chief command in Silesia 1813; completed Wellington's victory at Waterloo.

traded with her. These decrees resulted in a counterblast from Great Britain in the "Orders in Council" issued in the following year forbidding all trade between England and France or any ports dependent upon Napoleon, declaring the sale of ships by a belligerent to a neutral power void, and asserting the continuance of the right of search. Great Britain had no other alternative than this, but it was extremely unfortunate, as in 1812 it led to the war with the United States of America.

Up to this time the Emperor had failed to score a single advantage over the British nation, however successful he may have been against Austria, Prussia, and Russia. Before the outbreak of the war in 1803 Napoleon had planned fresh conquests in the East and West, which would, he had hoped, ruin the colonial possessions and policy of Great Britain. But between 1803 and 1806 the war had proved conclusively that his colonial schemes were destined to be failures. French merchantmen had been captured in every sea; and the West Indian Islands had been conquered for the second time by the British. In San Domingo, in spite of the capture of the brilliant negro commander Toussaint L'Ouverture,* the French had lost many lives and the island had practically secured its independence. Nor was it much consolation to French colonial ambition to remember that Louisiana had not been captured, but sold to the expanding States of North America. Malta, too, had been taken and retained; and from this island, which Napoleon had hoped to obtain for France, many plots were now hatched against him. The greatest blow of all had been the failure of his invasion from Boulogne, for which nothing could atone. He found, too, that his alliance with Spain exactly suited Great Britain, which continued to prosper, while France was going through a financial crisis. This meant heavy taxation, and, with conscription, there was general discontent at home, and in Italy, Switzerland, and the Rhenish Provinces, where these burdens were also imposed. He had the disappointment of seeing that his influence over the young Czar was beginning to decline; and

* Toussaint L'Ouverture (1746–1803); a slave; made by the French Convention commander-in-chief; began to aim at independence; after Bonaparte's proclamation for the re-establishment of slavery Toussaint rebelled; he was finally arrested and died in prison.

he learnt that he had a dangerous enemy in Alexander, whose ambitions were too closely akin to his own.

The war continued unabated, and in February, 1807, Napoleon met at Eylau the Russian army, formerly commanded by Kamenski, but now under Bennigsen.* After a severe contest, lasting for three days, both armies found it necessary to retire. It was at this point that England took the least effective part in the whole struggle. Grenville ought to have sent a strong naval force to the Baltic to keep the Prussian fortresses on that littoral; instead men and money were wasted in futile expeditions to scattered parts of the world, such as the near East and South America. The latter expedition was utterly absurd, and revealed Grenville's incapacity to understand the situation. It met with no success, and Popham and Whitelock returned from Buenos Ayres to be tried for failing to attain the useless object conceived by the Ministry. Matters were much improved in April, when Canning, the favourite disciple of Pitt, became Foreign Minister in the Duke of Portland's Cabinet. He accepted the Treaty of Bartenstein, by which Russia, Prussia, and Sweden swore to carry on the war. In June they repented of their bargain, for the Emperor with 140,000 men defeated the Russians at Friedland and took Königsberg. Alexander met Napoleon and entered into secret negotiations which led to his desertion of the allies and Napoleon's treachery towards the Poles, to whom he had practically promised independence. A few weeks later, on July 7th, Napoleon concluded with Alexander the famous Treaty of Tilsit, in which Prussia was also included. Frederick William III. was made to resign his kingdom west of the Elbe, together with his gains in Poland. The district west of the Elbe, with Hanover, was seized by the French and incorporated with the kingdom of Westphalia under Jerome Bonaparte. Russia's gains were confined to Bialystock in Polish Prussia, while Dantzic was declared a free State under the protection of Prussia and Saxony. But the most important parts of the Treaty of Tilsit were the secret clauses between Napoleon and the Czar. The two allies promised mutual assistance against Great Britain if she did not abate her maritime claims and restore the con-

* Levin August Theophil, Count Bennigsen (1745–1826); entered the army 1773; fought at Pultusk 1806, Eylau 1807, Borodino 1812, Leipzic 1813.

quests of the last two years. If Turkey refused French mediation both powers were to attack the Mohammedan territory and leave only Roumelia and Constantinople to the Sultan. If any one of the courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, or Lisbon continued to allow trade with Great Britain that country should be regarded as an enemy. The Treaty of Tilsit was a great shock to Europe, for it made it clear that the Czar aimed at conquering Sweden and Turkey. The King of Prussia hoped to gain much by being included in the treaty with Alexander and Napoleon. He learnt, too late, that he was really exposing his kingdom to danger, and instead of a profitable alliance he made a gift of his resources, not to a kindly friend, but to a rapacious destroyer.

Luckily for the future of the world England was still left to maintain the cause of Europe against the representatives of despotic rule.

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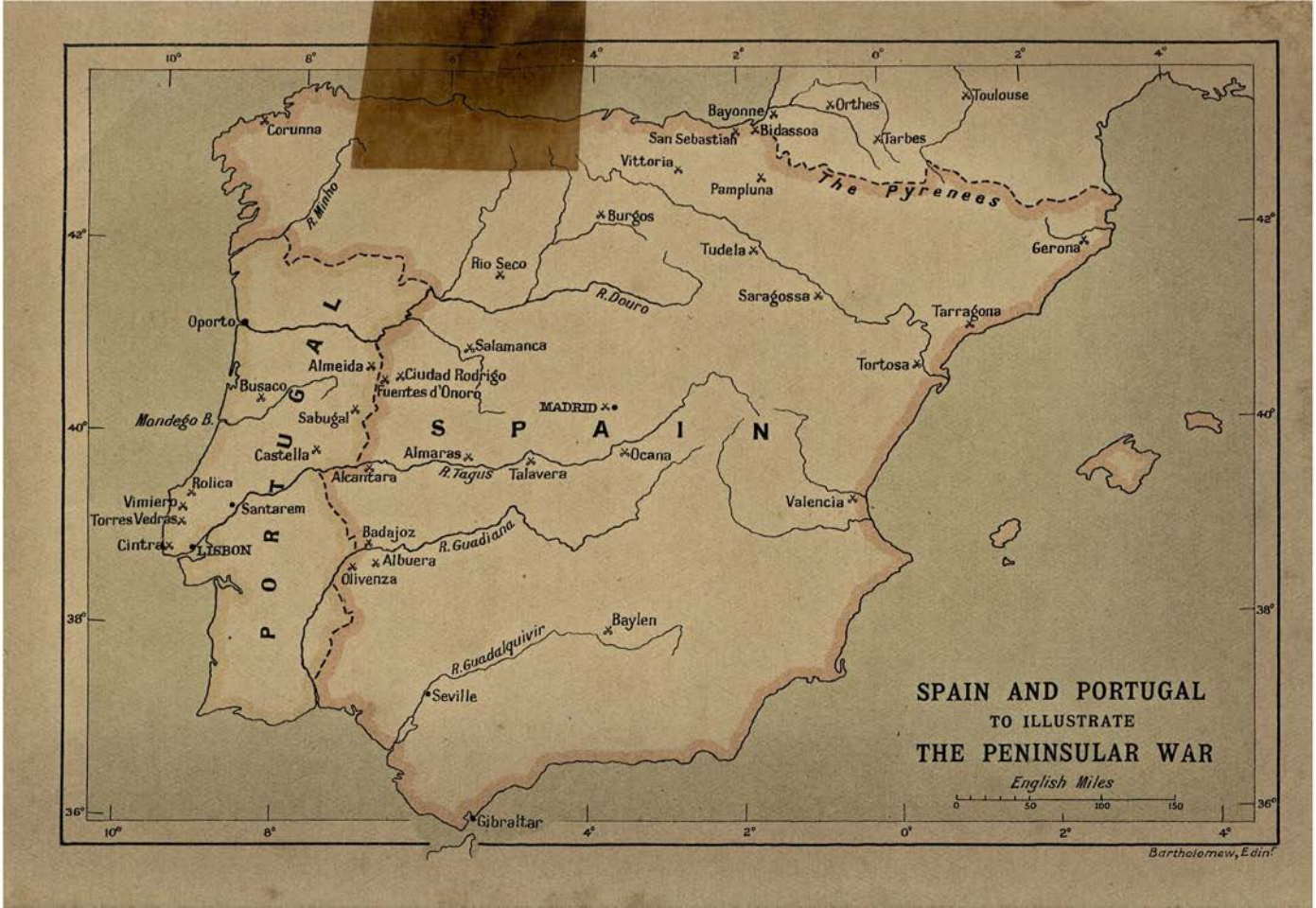
CONTEMPORARY EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

1806. William Pitt died.
"Ministry of all the talents" formed.
Charles James Fox died.
1807. The abolition of the slave trade.
The Portland Administration.
The seizure of the Danish fleet.
The Orders in Council.
1808. Joseph Bonaparte proclaimed King of Spain.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Torres Vedras
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LISBON
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R. Guadiana
Albuera
Olivenza
Baylen
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Rio Seco
R. Douro
Burgos
Vittoria
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Bidassoa
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Orthes
Tarbes
Toulouse
The Pyrenees
Tudela
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SPAIN AND PORTUGAL
TO ILLUSTRATE
THE PENINSULAR WAR
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CHAPTER V

THE PENINSULAR WAR

1807–1814

THE CHIEF DATES IN THE PREVIOUS HISTORY OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

Date.	*Spain.*	*Portugal.*
1788.	Death of Charles III.	
	Accession of Charles IV.	
1792.	Rise of Manuel Godoy	Don John assumed the government.
1793.	Spain attacked by France	Portugal allied with Spain.
1795.	The Treaty of Basle. Spain ceded to France her rights in San Domingo.	
1796.	The Treaty of San Ildefonso....	Great Britain sent aid to Portugal.
	War declared against Great Britain.	
1797.	The Battle of Cape St. Vincent.	
	Loss of Trinidad.	
1798.	Godoy resigned.	
1799.	... ...	Don John declared Regent.
1800.	The Treaty of San Ildefonso (second)	Portugal allies against France.
1801.	France ordered Spain to attack Portugal	Treaty of Badajoz made with Spain.
1804.	Spain declared war against Great Britain.	
1805.	The Battle of Trafalgar.	
1806.	Spain reconquered Buenos Ayres.	

NAPOLEON'S tyranny had become unbearable ; his genius in the last years of the Revolution had eclipsed that of any other, and during the few years that he had been Emperor he forced men to look upon him as one who stood head and shoulders above the rulers, diplomatists, and generals of Europe. He had diverted the energies of France into the path of military glory, and he had turned the ardent spirit of republicanism into a militant democracy. He had mastered the great art of dividing his foes ; he had learnt the truth that division gives command, and, having broken up the old boundaries of Europe, he had endeavoured to weld them into States under his own rule. He was gifted with a personal magnetism which, if it did not actually fascinate, at least terrified. He was in every sense the most remarkable man of his own or any other period ; and while his wonderful mind elaborated and planned, his physical energy, until the last months of his rule, remained unshaken. He was tireless in mind and body.

Having reached what appeared to be the zenith of his power in 1807, he was unsatisfied and attempted even more. Not content with a Lodi, an Austerlitz, a Jena, and an Auerstädt, he looked round for fresh conquests ; new kingdoms must be forced to feel his power, see his might, and bow submissive to his will. Behind it all, however, one country ever remained as the thorn in the flesh which must be torn out. Great Britain, so successful at Trafalgar, still continued unbroken ; at all costs Great Britain must be destroyed. The method of boycott, adopted by the Berlin decree in the previous year, could not be effective unless it was universally adopted. For these reasons Napoleon determined to attack Portugal, for that small kingdom had dared to continue her commerce with Great Britain, and a very large trade had been carried on in port wine ever since the Methuen Treaty of 1704. Then, too, Napoleon saw that the Portuguese throne would do excellently for the dispossessed monarch of Etruria. He was particularly anxious to round off his Italian conquests, and he hoped to win the satisfaction of the King if he found him a new throne in place of the old. Finally, he was urged to action by the hesitating reply of Portugal when commanded to attack Great Britain.

The Peninsular schemes of the Emperor began to take definite shape in October, 1807, when Godoy, the minister of Spain, signed an alliance at Fontainebleau. The treacherous minister was to have large possessions in Portugal ; while he was, on the other hand, to agree to the Lusitanian States being given to the King of Etruria ; half the Portuguese colonies were to go to the King of Spain under the title of Emperor of the Two Indies. In November Junot entered Lisbon, and the Regent fled immediately to Brazil. Napoleon had remarked, some years before, on the danger of having a Bourbon dynasty on the throne of Spain ; it was a relic of the family system which Napoleon, as the heir of the Revolution, had obliterated elsewhere. A more cogent reason for his ill-will had been given by the Spanish Government's threat of war during the critical period of the struggle with Prussia in 1806. Napoleon did not break off his relations with Godoy, but it is probable that, from that time forward, the fate of Spain was determined. King Charles was weak and

incapable, and Godoy, the paramour of the Queen, was opposed by the Crown-Prince Ferdinand. For their own purposes they both sought the aid of Napoleon. The minister succeeded in arresting the Prince, and thereupon Napoleon took matters into his own hands and despatched a French army under Dupont.* The feeble demands of Charles IV. were left unheeded, and in February, 1808, Murat took possession of the Spanish capital. Godoy and Charles were now molested, and so serious did affairs seem that the unhappy monarch resigned in favour of Ferdinand. Murat pretended to be friendly towards Charles, and took over the command at Madrid; but it was the friendship of a Judas. Prince Ferdinand hoped to win Napoleon by a personal interview, but he was trapped at Burgos and made prisoner. Charles IV. was then solemnly restored, only to abdicate again. To the astonishment of all, Napoleon, with the arrogance of an upstart, calmly forced his brother Joseph, King of Naples, upon the Spaniards; and he was crowned at Bayonne.

The Spaniards, as a whole, were naturally infuriated at this action of the Emperor, and rose in tempestuous wrath. They had already been stirred by the actions of Miollis against Rome, and now they found their sovereign and the country threatened by the curse of Europe. Their rising had a very important effect upon the whole course of affairs. In June Napoleon had intended to leave Bayonne, for he was required elsewhere, but his departure had to be delayed until he saw what might happen owing to this national rebellion. He was obliged to abandon the project, which he had formed in the spring of 1808, for another Armada and another expedition against England proved permanently fatal to his maritime schemes. He had had wonderful visions of renewing the glamour and theatrical glories of another attack upon the East. In his correspondence with Alexander a campaign had been outlined which was to end in the conquest of British India and to absorb the Turkish empire by the way. Nearer home he was contemplating the extinction of Prussia. The Spanish rising saved Turkey, and, possibly, British India. So seriously did he regard the unexpected upheaval that, contrary to his plans, he was forced

* Comte P. Dupont de l'Etang (1765–1840).

to order Caulaincourt * to withdraw troops from Warsaw and Dantzig. The Spanish patriotism taught the rest of Europe a much-needed lesson, and Prussia was not the least of the important powers that were stirred to their depths. As Blücher said, " I do not see why we should not think ourselves as good as the Spaniards," and this sentiment soon spread, so that the kingdom of Prussia in its days of deepest gloom was saved from virtual extinction.

The people of Great Britain were delighted with the action of the Spaniards. British policy began to take a larger scale than that of " filching sugar islands." Two small armies were despatched under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley and Sir John Moore. At first the French were successful against the patriots, and Bessières defeated them under Blake and Cuesta † at Rio Seco in July ; Joseph was then enabled to enter Madrid as king. But in the same month the French force detailed under Dupont for the conquest of Andalusia, having passed from Cordova to Andujar, was forced to capitulate at Baylen, and Joseph fled from the capital. It was the first great shock to Napoleon's power, and had a widespread effect upon Europe. It was a blow that had not come alone, for it was soon to be followed by one almost as severe.

It was at this moment that the future Duke of Wellington entered upon the war. He was a man of stern life and a strong upholder of discipline, but he was respected and trusted by his soldiers. He won his high position by his sterling qualities ; like the great Chatham, he had a very high opinion of his own qualifications and services. Unlike Frederick II. of Prussia, he was never reckless of his soldiers' lives to win power and glory for himself. In battle he was ever cool and collected. The military genius of Napoleon had revolutionized Europe ; it was the work of Wellington to undo a part of what the Emperor had done, and he will remain pre-eminent as his final conqueror. There can be no doubt that the English general owed much, like many officers before and since, to the valuable training he had received in India. Lessons learnt in the East made him an illustrious soldier

* Armand de Caulaincourt (1772–1827); created Duke of Vicenza; Minister of Foreign Affairs 1813.

† G. Garcia de la Cuesta (1740–1812).

in Spain and the Netherlands. He showed in his march which carried him triumphant from Lisbon to Toulouse, and even to Waterloo, that he had acquainted himself with every detail of his profession.

Sir Arthur Wellesley, like the rest of his countrymen, had hoped that the passionate hatred of the Spanish for the French would carry everything before it. He, however, was soon to find that this was not correct, for the jealousy felt by the Spaniards for the English lessened the value of their patriotic fervour against Napoleon. Besides, they very soon proved themselves incapable of carrying out any concerted action, not so much because the rank and file were raw and untrained as because their officers were conceited, intolerant, bigoted, and devoid of the elements of discipline or subordination. The Portuguese were not good troops at first because they lacked military knowledge and experience, but they soon became superior to the Spanish, for they were ready to put themselves under the control of British officers, and so improved rapidly as the war proceeded. So hopelessly ill-disciplined were the Spaniards that even one of their own generals admitted that "In our marches we stopped to rest like a flock of sheep without taking up any position. By and by we resumed our journey like pilgrims, without paying any attention to distances, order, or formation." As additional evidence of their incapacity Berthier wrote, "The Emperor considers that the English alone are formidable in Spain. The rest are the merest *canaille*, which can never keep the field"; and Wellesley himself said, "A thousand French with cavalry and artillery will disperse thousands of them."

The prospect before Sir Hew Dalrymple, Sir H. Burrard, and Sir Arthur Wellesley was not encouraging. The last landed at Mondego Bay and was joined by Major-General Spencer. His first action was to prevent the junction of the two French generals Laborde and Loison, which he did by driving back the former to Rolica. Junot, who was then in command at Lisbon, was much disturbed by the British success, and having joined the forces of Loison, marched to Vimiero, there to oppose the progress of Wellesley and his men. The defeat of the French in the battle of Vimiero on August 21st would have been absolutely crushing; but unfortunately Burrard, who was Wellesley's superior, would

not allow the victory to be followed up, and thus prevented the British from reaping the full advantages of their complete repulse of all Junot's attacks. Wellesley was so furious that he remarked scornfully, "Gentlemen, there is nothing for us to do but to hunt red-legged partridges." Sir Hew Dalrymple, the commander-in-chief, negotiated the Convention of Cintra, by which Junot agreed to evacuate Portugal, on August 30th, but refused to sign it with a French officer of inferior rank. Wellesley was therefore obliged to do so, though he complained at the time that he did not approve of the terms. He failed to see why the British nation should be obliged to carry 25,000 French from Portugal in British ships.

The natural disgust that Wellesley felt for the way in which his victory had been treated made him wish to retire, and he sought, fortunately in vain, for a civil post at home. He returned to England in October, where he was met with abuse for the Convention which he had done his best to prevent. Public opinion, however, changed, and in January, 1809, he received the thanks of Parliament for his splendid victory at Vimiero. Events were soon to bring him from this victory to loftier heights of success and triumph, unimagined even within his own ambitious brain.

In the autumn of 1808 the Spanish impulsive nature had made up for the want of discipline and had carried all before it. There were no fewer than 130,000 insurgents opposed to the intolerable pretensions of Napoleon. They had drawn themselves across the north of Spain, from Bilbao on the coast to Saragossa on the Ebro. In November, however, the always-victorious Emperor defeated Blake at Espinosa, on the southern slope of the Cantabrian mountains; and Marshal Soult * succeeded in capturing Burgos, in the north of Old Castile. The central position of the insurgents was also broken when they were defeated under Palafox † by Lannes ‡

* Nicolas Jean de Dieu Soult (1769–1851); entered the army 1785; general of brigade 1794; general of division 1799; marshal of France 1804; Duke of Dalmatia 1807; fought well in the Peninsular War; after Waterloo rallied the scattered forces; banished 1815; recalled 1819; ambassador to England 1838.

† Jose Palafox y Melzi (1780–1847).

‡ Jean Lannes (1769–1809); Duke of Montebello; entered the army 1792; general of brigade 1796; fought at Montebello, Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, Eylau, Friedland, Saragossa, and Aspern.

at Tudela, on the Ebro, a town which lies about halfway between Saragossa and Espinosa. Thus the patriots had been beaten all along the line, and Napoleon was able to restore his brother to the throne. So powerful had the French now become that Sir John Moore, who had been left in command in Portugal, retreated to the coast. He has been blamed for rapidity of his retreat. But the whole campaign is a brilliant accomplishment. The blow struck at Napoleon's communications dislocated the attack on Portugal and Andalusia ; 50,000 men were diverted to the North West, and to no purpose ; Moore's army reached Corunna and was only compelled to fight because the transports had not arrived. In the great battle that ensued the French were defeated, but in the hour of victory the gallant Sir John Moore was killed. The English were unable to improve the repulse they had given to Soult, and embarked on board the vessels waiting for them ; and Portugal was for the moment left with only 10,000 men under Cradock.

The triumphs of the French in the Peninsula seemed unending. The brave leader of the Spanish patriots, Palafox, was again defeated at their most formidable stronghold, Saragossa. Added to this, there soon followed the news of the complete triumph of Marshal Victor * in the south of Spain, a district hitherto unconquered. The irrepressible Soult once more appeared upon the scene and took up his duties in Portugal. Since the main British army had evacuated that country it was not so dangerous or so difficult to subdue, and without any great effort he managed to seize Oporto at the mouth of the Douro. In fact, so thoroughly had the French established themselves that there seemed very little more to accomplish. Napoleon therefore quitted the scene of his labours and busied himself with the great questions of the dominion of northern Europe. He had been eagerly waiting to do this, because he imagined that there were no more laurels to be gained in the southern kingdom. Besides this, for some time he had seen ever-increasing signs of unrest in Austria, and he feared the hostility of the Emperor, an hostility encouraged and excited by the patriot Count

* Claude Perrin Victor (1764–1841) ; created marshal at Friedland 1807 ; fought in the Peninsular War, the Russian campaign, and at Dresden and Leipzig ; held command under Louis XVIII. ; Minister of War 1821–1823.

Stadion.* In Prussia the Spanish rising had, as already mentioned, played a part, and it was obvious that the plucky ministers would force the somewhat pusillanimous Frederick William to throw off the hated impositions of the Emperor of the French. For these reasons Napoleon started for northern Europe, and launched into the war which will be dealt with hereafter.

Wellesley was again sent to Portugal in 1809 as commander-in-chief of the British forces. He had strongly recommended Lord Castlereagh to persevere in his plans with regard to that country, and said, "I have always been of opinion that Portugal might be defended whatever might be the result of the contest in Spain; and that, in the meantime, the measures adopted for the defence of Portugal would be highly useful for the Spaniards in their contest with the French." He found Soult's army separated from that of Victor. He concentrated his force at Coimbra, and sent Beresford to the upper Douro. He himself went by the direct road and drove Soult from his walled defence of Oporto to Guimaraens, where he joined Loison, and then proceeded to Orense in Galicia. In the retreat from Oporto the French lost 6,000 men, their guns, ammunition, baggage, and military chest. All seemed to be going well for the British had it not been for the Spanish general Cuesta, whose co-operation with Wellesley in his advance on Victor at Plasencia proved useless. Cuesta prepared to attack Merida, which only ended in his retreat across the Guadiana to Mirabete. From there he pursued Victor to St. Olalla; but, in the meantime, Joseph had set out from Madrid, and by the river Guadarrama joined Victor and defeated the Spanish at Torrejos and forced them to retire across the Alberche. The French were now so certain of success that by the foolish advice of Victor they attacked Wellesley at Talavera on July 27th. The English were drawn up on the right bank of the Tagus, with their flank protected by Talavera. The loss on either side was enormous, but it restored the glories of the British regiments which had for so long seemed effaced, though it failed to teach Napoleon that the British could fight well and that they had leaders of more than ordinary capacity.

Great, however, as was the victory, it was rendered prac-

* J. P. C. J., Count Stadion (1763–1824).

tically useless by the incompetency of the Spaniards. Of this, Wellesley wrote to Castlereagh, saying, "I don't think that the Spaniards are yet in a state of discipline to contend with the French, and I prefer infinitely to endeavour to remove them from this part of Spain by manœuvré to the trial of another pitched battle." The effect that the battle had upon the British troops was excellent and it must be acknowledged that so far the expedition to the Peninsula had done good work. It taught Lord Wellington, as he now was, two great lessons: first, that to be successful he must act entirely independently of the Spanish generals; and, secondly, that if he wanted to save himself from the fate of Sir John Moore and his troops he must establish a strong line for the protection of his base of operation. This he at once set about in October, 1809, when he constructed the lines of Torres Vedras, the outer breastwork of which extended for twenty-nine miles from Alhandra on the Tagus to the mouth of the stream Zizandra.

The incompetency of the Spaniards under General Areizaga was again proved by their complete defeat at Ocana on November 20th by Mortier, and owing to which they were obliged to retreat to the Sierra Morena. Venegas also failed in his attack on Toledo, and, having engaged Sebastiani and Joseph at Almonacid, also retired. Nor was the Duke del Parque any more successful. He left Ciudad Rodrigo and repulsed the French at Tamamés, and took Salamanca, but was finally defeated with very considerable loss at Alba de Tormes.

The campaign of 1810 was the most critical in the Peninsular War, and Napoleon should have conducted it in person, but affairs nearer home, together with his marriage with the Austrian Princess Marie Louise, occupied his full attention. Soult was therefore made commander-in-chief in Spain, while the same honour was conferred upon Masséna* in Portugal. By the end of September the celebrated defensive works of Torres Vedras were completed, and Wellington could, if necessary, retire behind them. Earlier in the year Masséna, with 80,000 men, had begun the campaign by the

* André Masséna (1758–1817); a general of division 1793; fought at Rivoli 1797, Zurich 1799; marshal 1804; created Duke of Rivoli 1807; fought at Landshut, Eckmühl and Aspern; joined the Bourbons 1814.

siege of Ciudad Rodrigo under Herrasti, which fell to the onrush of the French troops, and was followed by the capture of Almeida and a steady movement upon Viseu and Celorico. Wellington had refused to send help to the Spaniards at Ciudad Rodrigo, for he had determined upon a waiting policy, and was ready to allow the key of that district to be taken before his eyes. His troops were now massed in the Mondego valley, and he knew that they needed encouragement, for the loss of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida had dispirited even the British. He therefore drew up his men on a ridge just north of Coimbra, at Busaco, on September 29th. Here he was attacked by 56,000 men under Masséna, but they were driven back with a French loss of 4,500. Although his victory had been so complete, Wellington at once adopted the cautious policy of retiring behind the lines of Torres Vedras. Masséna advanced up the lines, but was obliged to retreat, for the whole country had been laid waste. Masséna's retreat began at Sobral on November 10th, and he was forced to cross the Tagus to Santarem, where in December there was an absolute deadlock. This retreat may well be called the beginning of the end, and was, in the widest sense, only concluded at Toulouse on April 11th, 1814. The whole of the Peninsular War turned upon this important campaign of Busaco and Torres Vedras. Wellington had acted with the greatest forethought and had taken three decisive measures, any one of which without the others would have proved ineffectual. The lines of Torres Vedras, the *levée en masse* in Portugal, and the ravaged lands where the wolves roamed unmolested were all the work of a thinker as well as of a soldier, and they altogether formed such a triple hedge of defence that Masséna, with a loss of 30,000 men through famine, was obliged to fall back.

Wellington's work met with the hearty approval of the English Government under Perceval, but it was by no means completed, although he had put the French into such a position that for the whole of the next year they were obliged to be on the defensive. At the beginning of 1811 Soult and Victor bestirred themselves, but the latter failed to seize Cadiz, for it was reached by General Albuquerque, who had marched from Cordova and thrown himself within its walls before the French began to blockade it. By this time the war had had

the effect of exciting a constitutional movement in Spain, where the Liberals had been particularly active since 1809. A reform movement was begun at Cadiz, which culminated in the drawing up of a new Constitution by the Cortes which was published in 1812. It was a genuine attempt to meet the difficulties of the moment. All legislative power was to be in the hands of a single national assembly ; feudal rights were abolished ; the freedom of the Press was established ; and certain checks were to be placed on the monarchical power when the royal house should be restored. This Constitution, however, did not satisfy the wants of the time. It annoyed the clergy, who preached against it, and the ignorant people turned against those who were endeavouring to be their liberators. It was undoubtedly the work of one party, and the nobility looked upon it with the greatest distrust. Unfortunately, too, there was nothing in it to win the appreciation of Wellington, who was regarded with suspicion by the Liberal leaders of the day.

The liberation of Spain from the French troops was the main wish of Wellington, and the theoretical schemes of the Cortes were not actually the requirements of the moment. Both Soult and Victor needed careful watching. Soult had moved from Merida and then invested and captured the fort of Badajoz. He then proceeded south, but in the meantime Victor had fought the allies under La Pena and Graham at Barossa ; the allies immediately afterwards crossing into the Isla. Wellington saw that this could not be allowed to last for a moment longer than necessary, and he despatched Beresford to retake the fortress of Badajos, while he himself followed Masséna and besieged Almeida. Massêna turned to relieve the siege, but was met by the Duke at Fuentes d'Onoro. Both sides claimed the victory ; but Napoleon already doubted the generalship of Masséna, and had replaced him by Marmont, who arrived three days after the battle. The prize of victory, at any rate, was Wellington's, for the French withdrew from Almeida, their last stronghold in Portugal. By this time Soult had invaded Estremadura, and Wellington went to the assistance of Beresford, who was carrying on the siege of Badajos. Soult attempted to prevent the junction by attacking Beresford at Albuera. So nearly was this a great defeat that Beresford at Albuera.

was on the point of ordering a retreat. This was prevented by the gallant charge of the Fusiliers under General Cole. There is perhaps no finer passage in Napier's *Peninsular War* than the one which describes this notable and glorious event. "Nothing could stop that astonishing infantry. No sudden burst of undisciplined valour, no nervous enthusiasm weakened the stability of their order; their flashing eyes were bent on the dark columns in their front, their measured tread shook the ground, their dreadful volleys swept away the head of every formation, their deafening shouts overpowered the discordant cries that broke from all parts of the tumultuous crowd, as slowly and with horrid carnage it was pushed by the incessant vigour of the attack to the farthest edge of the hill. In vain did the French reserves mix with the struggling multitudes to sustain the fight—their efforts only increased the irredeemable confusion,—and the mighty mass, breaking off like a loosened cliff, went headlong down the steep; and 1,800 unwounded men, the remnant of 6,000 unconquered British soldiers, stood triumphant on the fatal hill." It was one of the bloodiest battles in the war, and Soult was for the time utterly crushed and retired to Solamo. He was, however, supported by Marmont, and Wellington was obliged to retire from the siege of Badajos. Turning north he prepared to besiege Ciudad Rodrigo but was dislodged by Marmont, and retreated into the Portuguese mountains.

To the surprise of Marmont, who had retreated to Valladolid, Wellington was again in the field in January, 1812. On the 17th of the month he attacked Ciudad Rodrigo, the assault being led by Picton and Crawfurd. Elvas was next reached, but above all the campaign was famous for the capture of Badajos on March 6th. The capture seemed well nigh hopeless, for throughout the whole affair Wellington had to fight against Spanish pride, obstinacy, and selfishness. He had also to use the most wretched artillery ever employed in modern warfare, for some of the guns dated from the sixteenth century, others had been cast in Portugal about 1640, while there were a few twenty-four pounders that had been made under George II. The fortress was taken by a night attack, the Fusiliers and Connaught Rangers being particularly conspicuous in the first rush, which was unsuccessful. Another attack was made, the ditch jumped, the men climbed

up hand over hand in the teeth of a storm of bullets. The heavy fighting at last gave way to shouts of victory, though the carnage had been terrible, 5,000 men being slain.

By means of these victories both lines of entrance from Spain into Portugal passed into British hands, and communications between Soult and Marmont were rendered far more difficult by Hill's destruction of the Almerez boat-bridge on May 19th. Wellington was now free to advance against Marmont, and he drove the marshal back from Salamanca to the Douro. Marmont, however, having obtained reinforcements, assumed the offensive and forced Wellington to return to Salamanca. But here over-eagerness proved his ruin, and Wellington profited by his error to inflict upon him a crushing defeat on July 22nd. An attempt to outflank the British exposed two divisions to Wellington, who fell on the flank of the French, while Pakenham planted himself across their path. After this success the Duke was able to extend his designs on Spain, and advanced triumphantly on Madrid, which he entered on August 12th. He had trusted largely to the reinforcements, but he also knew that Napoleon was drawing his best men away from Spain and sending raw recruits. This was the period of Napoleon's infatuation. Foolishly believing that his star was still in the ascendant, he now needed every man he could get to make that mad invasion of Russia which ended so disastrously at Moscow. Wellington lost no time in Madrid, and having crossed the Douro to Palencia, laid siege to Burgos. Here he obliged Clausel,* a general of great ability, who had taken the command from the wounded Marmont, to retire to the Ebro. The French, however, by means of a concentration of their forces from the north under Souham, and from Valencia under Joseph and Soult, forced the British to retire to Salamanca, where Hill had rejoined the main body. Nevertheless, to drive Wellington back to Portugal, the French had to abandon half Spain, and La Mancha, Asturia, Estremadura, and Andalusia had passed out of their possession before the end of 1812.

Wellington was now opposed by Joseph, who had quarrelled with Soult and had him dismissed. So incapable was Joseph as a soldier that he could hardly mass his men, and

* Bertrand Clausel (1772–1842); fought in the Italian and Austrian campaigns; fled to America 1814; returned 1819; governor of Algeria 1830–36.

when he accomplished this he was so dilatory that nothing could be done. The Duke made a definite move north-east, which caused Joseph to evacuate Madrid and march from Toro to Burgos, where he joined Jourdan, and together they moved through Miranda to Vittoria. The British force had pursued him from Toro to Valencia, and, having crossed the Ebro, completed the tactical counterpart of the strategical move by defeating him and Jourdan at Vittoria on June 21st, 1813. In the battle the French lost 150 guns, their ammunition, and a million of money. This great capture on the part of the British was largely due to General Graham's corps cutting off the best line of retreat, that along the great road to Bayonne. The battle, like all the others, was hard fought ; the Allies lost 5,200, while the French losses were counted at about 6,000. It was one of the most important in the war ; it was not a mere local victory, but the crushing blow to Napoleon's schemes in the Peninsula. Madrid had already been evacuated, and Clausel fell back from Saragossa into France. It encouraged the Allies to still further efforts and practically freed Spain from her invaders. It laid the south of France open to Wellington's attack, and he was able to bring an efficiently trained army from the south at the same moment that Austria, Russia, and Prussia contemplated invasion from the east.

Soult was immediately dispatched by Napoleon to take up the command once more. He moved from Bayonne to Sorauren and temporarily checked General Hill at Buenza, but a second battle forced him to retire from Sorauren, and he recrossed the Bidassoa. Wellington's men were flushed with victory, and defeated the French in these " battles of the Pyrenees " with enormous slaughter. San Sebastian fell to the British general, and having crossed the Bidassoa on October 7th, he fought and won the battle of Nivelle on November 10th. Thus a week before the battle of Leipzig, British troops invaded the territory of Napoleon. The lower Adour was passed in February, and Soult was again defeated at Orthez on the 27th. Bordeaux was occupied by Beresford, while Wellington pursued the vanquished by Pau and Tarbes to Toulouse. Here the last battle of the Peninsular War was fought, with a loss to the Allies of between 4,000 and 5,000 men, on April 11th.

Soult evacuated the town, and left all his guns in the hands of the English, because on the day before a treaty had been signed by the Allies, and Napoleon, after an extraordinary career, had been forced by his marshals to abdicate. They were weary of the war ; they had earned all the rewards that it was possible for Napoleon to give ; and so their master was obliged to succumb to circumstances and retire to Elba.

The Peninsular War had lasted for many years. It had few results belonging entirely to itself, yet it was one of the main causes of Napoleon's downfall. It sapped Napoleon's strength at a time when it was most essential that he should have won in Eastern Europe. He spoke of the war in Spain as "the running sore," and it was no inapt simile, for the story of 1813 in Saxony would have been very different had Napoleon had under his command the 200,000 men then in Spain. It is at least probable that had those warriors been at Leipzig Napoleon would still have been able to dictate such a peace that would have left the empire intact. The steady perseverance of the Spanish patriots, though often ill-directed, did a great deal for national character ; their patriotism helped to save not only their own country, but the countries of others. The patience, the endurance, the untiring spirit and indomitable will of the Duke of Wellington did much to bring about Napoleon's fall. A most important contributory cause was the geographical peculiarity of the peninsula. In the opening stages of the war Napoleon was staggered to find that the defeat of her armies and the occupation of her capital did not involve the subjection of Spain. The mountain ranges, and, still more, the psychological divisions which correspond to these barriers, made the art of war in Spain different in kind from that which Napoleon had brought to such perfection in Europe east of the Pyrenees. Castille, Aragon and Catalonia, Andalusia, Valencia, Galicia, were isolated units. They had to be dealt with separately, and victory in one did not imply, did not necessarily even contribute to, victory in another or over the whole area.

Besides this error in political strategy, Napoleon was deceived by his inexperience of conditions of war in Spain into setting his marshals tasks which might have been accomplished under ordinary conditions but were rendered impos-

sible by the nature of the country. Large tracts were incapable of supporting an army during a campaign of any length, and the character of the road system, for the most part transverse to the lines of river and mountain, made war, most profitably, an affair of springs and surprises. Some of the French generals seem to have taken advantage of these characteristics, but such incidents as his instructions to Soult after the pursuit of Sir John Moore show that for once Napoleon's judgment was at fault.

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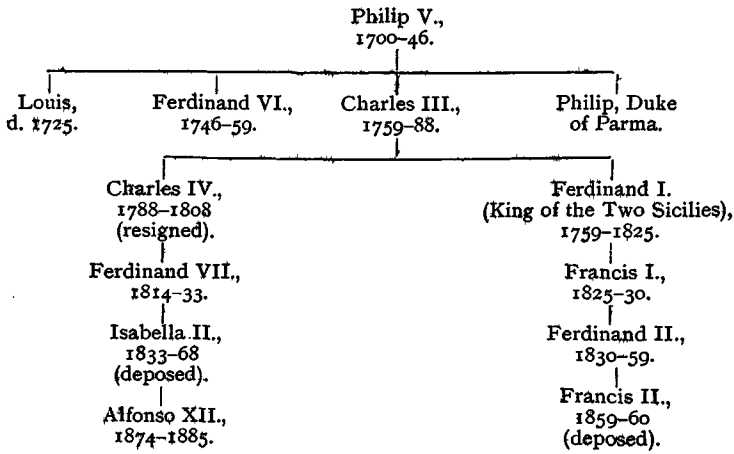
THE CHIEF EVENTS IN THE PENINSULAR WAR

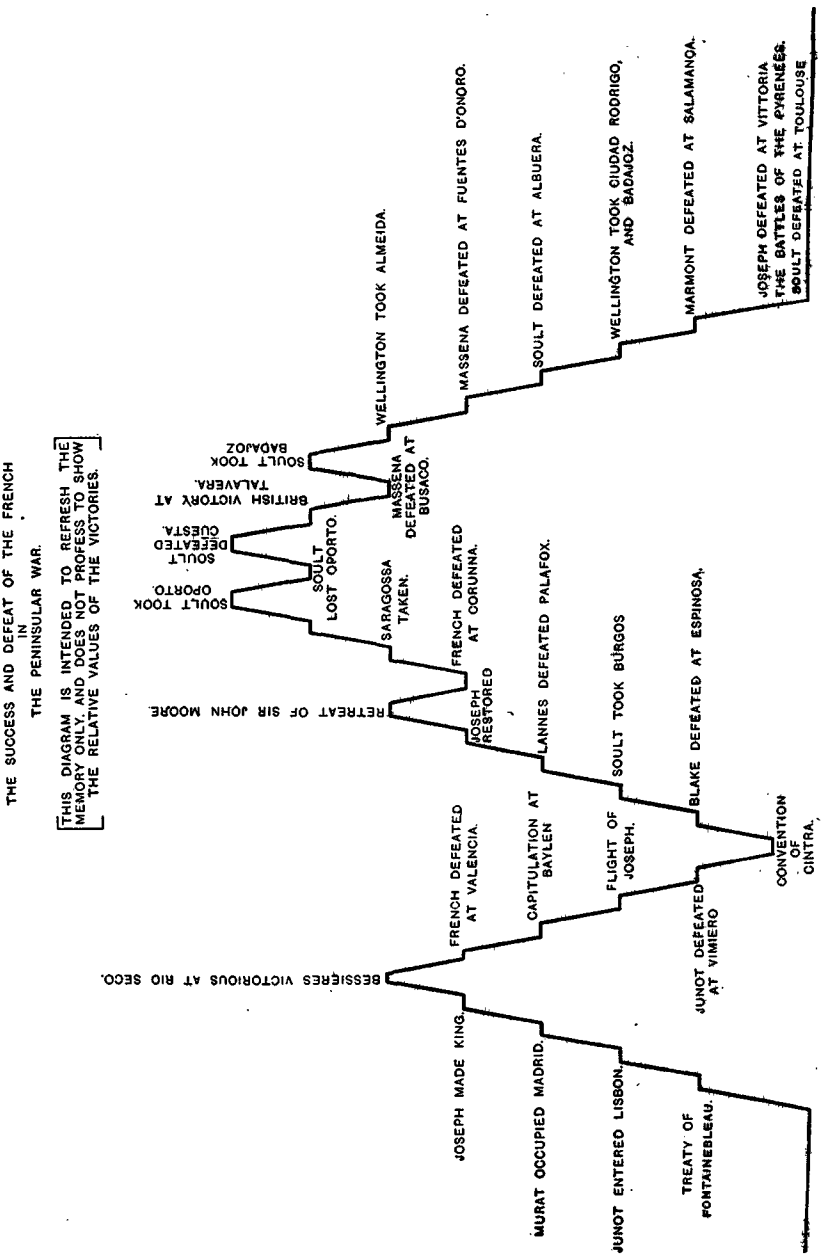
1807. The Treaty of Fontainebleau.
1808. Charles IV. abdicated.
Murat entered Madrid.
The Treaty of Bayonne.
General Lefebre besieged Saragossa.
Blake and Cuesta defeated by Bessières at Rio Seco.
Dupont capitulated at Baylen to Castaños and Reding.
Wellesley landed at Mondego Bay.
Wellesley defeated Laborde at Roliça.
Wellesley defeated Junot at Vimiero.
The Convention of Cintra.
Napoleon entered Madrid.
Lannes defeated the Spaniards at Tudela.
1809. Moore defeated Soult at Corunna.
Soult took Oporto.
Wellesley took Oporto. Soult evacuated Portugal.
Wellesley defeated Victor and Joseph at Talavera.
1810. Masséna captured Astorga, Ciudad Rodrigo, and Almeida.
Wellington defeated Masséna at Busaco.
1811. Wellington defeated Masséna at Fuentes d'Onoro.
Soult defeated by Beresford at Albuera.
Suchet defeated Blake at Sagunto.

THE CHIEF EVENTS IN THE PENINSULAR WAR—*continued*

1812. Wellington took Ciudad Rodrigo.
Wellington took Badajos.
Wellington victorious at Salamanca.
Wellington occupied Madrid.
Soult evacuated Andalusia.
Wellington checked at Burgos.
Wellington retreated to Portugal.
1813. Wellington victorious at Vittoria.
Battles of the Pyrenees.
San Sebastian and Pampluna surrendered.
Wellington invaded France. Battles of the Nivelle and Nive.
1814. Soult defeated at Toulouse.

PEDIGREE OF THE BOURBONS IN SPAIN AND THE TWO SICILIES.




THE SUCCESS AND DEFEAT OF THE FRENCH
IN
THE PENINSULAR WAR.
THIS DIAGRAM IS INTENDED TO REFRESH THE MEMORY ONLY, AND DOES NOT PROFESS TO SHOW THE RELATIVE VALUES OF THE VICTORIES.
JOSEPH MADE KING.
BESSIÈRES VICTORIOUS AT RIO SECO.
MURAT OCCUPIED MADRID.
FRENCH DEFEATED AT VALENCIA.
JUNOT ENTERED LISBON.
CAPITULATION AT BAYLEN
TREATY OF FONTAINEBLEAU.
JUNOT DEFEATED AT VIMIERO
FLIGHT OF JOSEPH.
CONVENTION OF CINTRA.
BLAKE DEFEATED AT ESPINOSA.
RETREAT OF SIR JOHN MOORE
JOSEPH RESTORED
SOULT TOOK BURGOS
SOULT TOOK OPORTO
SOULT LOST OPORTO.
SARAGOSSA TAKEN.
FRENCH DEFEATED AT CORUNNA.
LANNES DEFEATED PALAFOX.
SOULT DEFEATED QUESTA.
BRITISH VICTORY AT TALAVERA.
SOULT TOOK BADAJOZ
MASSENA DEFEATED AT BUSACO.
WELLINGTON TOOK ALMEIDA.
MASSENA DEFEATED AT FUENTES D'ONORO.
SOULT DEFEATED AT ALBUERA.
WELLINGTON TOOK CIUDAD RODRIGO, AND BADAJOZ.
MARMONT DEFEATED AT SALAMANCA.
JOSEPH DEFEATED AT VITTORIA
THE BATTLES OF THE PYRENEES.
SOULT DEFEATED AT TOULOUSE

CHAPTER VI

THE NAPOLEONIC WAR *(continued)*

1807–1815

THE CHIEF DATES IN THE CONTEMPORARY HISTORY OF INDIA AND AMERICA

Date.	*India.*	*America.*
1798.	Lord Wellesley appointed Governor-General.	
1799.	The Third Mysore War. Capture of Seringapatam.	
1801.	Treaty of Lucknow.	Thomas Jefferson elected President.
1802.	Ceylon retained by the British.	The creation of Ohio as a State.
1803.	The Second Maratha War.	Purchase of Louisiana from France.
1809.	...	Madison elected President.
1812.	...	War with Great Britain.
1814.	War with the Gurkhas. Marquis of Hastings appointed Governor-General.	Capture of Washington. Attack on New Orleans. The Treaty of Ghent.
1816.	The Treaty of Segauli.	

THE exciting events of the Peninsular War were by no means isolated instances of the strenuous work that was being done to resist the intolerable demands of Napoleon. Many events were happening in France, Prussia, and Austria that gradually led up to the Napoleonic triumph and its great collapse. Napoleon's mistakes hastened one upon another after his meeting with the Czar at Tilsit. There had been several chances of peace; there had, indeed, been opportunities for the settlement of Europe that might have left Napoleon still at the head of France, but his overwhelming ambition, his mistaken Continental system, together with the rousing of nations, brought these to nothing, and ended at St. Helena.

Prussia was now to feel the weight of his hand. In the October of 1807 he insisted on the dismissal of Hardenberg, and Stein * was appointed in his place. The kingdom of Prussia had fallen from the glories of the period

* Heinrich Frederick Carl, Baron von Stein (1757–1831); president of the Westphalian Chambers 1796; took charge of Prussian commercial affairs 1804–1807; recalled 1807; laid the foundation of Prussian greatness; dismissed at the command of Napoleon 1808; was at St. Petersburg 1812, and from that time the chief organizer of opposition to Napoleon.

of Frederick the Great and found itself beneath the iron heel of the French soldiery. Stein's work mainly consisted of three things. He reorganized the municipalities in such a way that the citizens were allowed to choose their own magistrates. He had, too, a scheme for obtaining a representative Government, but this was prevented by the fear of the spread of Jacobinism, and also because his time and attention were necessarily focussed upon foreign affairs. His great success, however, was the issue of the Emancipating Edict, which was chiefly drawn up by Hardenberg's commission. In the first place, by this celebrated enactment, the differences between noble, burgher, and serf lands were abolished. It was established that from henceforth men were to be allowed to pass freely from class to class ; and within three years' time all serfs were to become free. It may also be added here that in 1811 the Act was enlarged by Hardenberg, and two-thirds of the peasants' holdings were given to the peasants as proprietors, and one-third to the lord in compensation. Nor was Scharnhorst * idle in this hour of Prussia's need, for he reformed the army with excellent results in the near future. By his scheme 40,000 men were to be kept on the active list for a short period only. This was supplemented in 1813 by the organisation of the *Landwehr*, a reserve from the regulars, and the *Landsturm*, a general levy of all between eighteen and forty-five years of age. But what was perhaps as useful as any part of his reform was the entire abolition of obsolete tactics and degrading punishments. Nevertheless, although these reforms were in progress, Prussia was burdened by the interference of Napoleon. He demanded from the King 140,000 francs, whilst at the same time certain towns had to support large French garrisons. The national pride was cut to the quick by the peremptory command that no militia should be formed and that the standing army was not to exceed 42,000 men. The regulation was observed, but the short service system provided a total of 150,000 trained men by 1812. As Napoleon had caused the dismissal of Hardenberg, so he ordered that of Stein, when he found him in correspon-

* Gerhard Johann David von Scharnhorst (1755–1813), director of the Prussian school of officers 1801; fought at Auerstädt, Lübeck, and Eylau; wounded at Grossgörschen.

dence with Austria, and urging that "the war must be waged for the liberation of Germany by Germans."

It was indeed with the intention of overawing Austria that Napoleon ostentatiously met Alexander at Erfurt in October, 1808. It was there arranged between the two arbiters of Europe that the Czar should have Wallachia and Moldavia on the condition that he continued the war against England. The opportunity for this arrangement was good, for Austria, like Prussia, was going through a period of reform. Count Stadion had undertaken certain social reforms, whilst the Archduke Charles was doing his best to put the Austrian army upon such a footing that it could again meet Napoleon. In 1809 all was considered ready. Count Stadion was then in office, and he had not only assisted the Archduke in his reforms, but had also succeeded in increasing the actual numerical strength of the army. It was obvious that this army must be used at once if it was to be kept up. The Austrians must be shown by deeds the necessity of so expensive a force. The people were anxious to attack the French, for they were jealous of Napoleon's dealings with regard to Poland, while at the same time they feared what might be the outcome of the meeting at Erfurt. The whole of Europe, including Austria, had been stirred by the capitulation at Baylen in July, 1808, and it was thought that the time was now ripe to make a fresh attempt against Napoleon's dominion. For the first time in the history of Germany, Austria addressed a manifesto to the nation as a whole. It was determined that the German people should make a supreme effort against the French. In Prussia there was far more chance of this appeal meeting with success, for there the cause of the fatherland had been recently urged by the Tugendbund, or League of Virtue; and the middle class, by this time well advanced, were inspired by the philosopher Fichte and the poet Arndt. But the King of Prussia would pledge himself to nothing while Russia remained in alliance with Napoleon. In Austria the people were much less advanced in German patriotism, though the Catholic population had been incensed by Napoleon's treatment of the Pope. Stadion and Metternich, however, were in favour of forcing the issue, and the Austrian Government determined to take the field without allies.

This national war was declared in April, 1809. The Arch-

duke Charles concentrated his forces at Ratisbon and might have crushed Berthier and Davout,* but he proved himself too sluggish. The Archduke John, however, succeeded in defeating the French under Beauharnais at Sacile, near Venice, on April 16th. In Tyrol the insurgent peasants, under Andreas Hofer, an inn-keeper of the Passeyer valley, kept the French and Bavarian forces at bay and three times drove their opponents out of Innsbruck. It was not till the end of the year that the revolt was effectually crushed. They had been driven to rebellion by the increase of taxation and military service, and by the attacks of the Bavarian Government on the Church and ecclesiastical property. A third movement was made by the Archduke Ferdinand, who captured Warsaw on April 22nd, but was obliged to evacuate it in June. About this time Dornberg, a Westphalian officer, and Schill, a Prussian cavalry leader, made a plot to drag Prussia into the war by attacking King Jerome. Dornberg, however, was put to flight, and Schill was killed at the end of May. In the meantime Napoleon and Davout, in a masterly compaign, defeated the Archduke Charles at Abensberg and Eckmühl, and marched towards Vienna. Napoleon and Masséna again attacked the Archduke beyond the isle of Lobau, at Aspern and Essling, where a struggle took place which is one of the most famous and bloody in all the annals of military history. Marshal Lannes, a brave and gallant officer, fell, and the Emperor was obliged to withdraw from the northern bank of the Danube. Schill's exploit had kindled the enthusiasm of north Germany. In June the Duke of Brunswick attacked Napoleon's ally, the King of Saxony. The English Government had granted a subsidy to Austria and was contemplating the dispatch of an armament to the mouth of the Scheldt. If Napoleon had failed to cross the Danube, all Europe would have united against him. But Napoleon changed the whole position of affairs. In a single night he built a bridge of boats, crossed the river, and in a two days' battle at Wagram caused the Archduke Charles to retreat to Znaim in Moravia. The results of the

* Louis Nicolas Davout (1770–1823); fought at Aboukir; marshal 1804; fought at Austerlitz and Auerstädt; created Duke of Auerstädt 1808; fought at Eckmühl and Wagram; Governor of Poland; fought in the Moscow campaign; Governor-General of the Hanse towns; War Minister 1815; a peer of France 1819.

battle were of the gravest consequence to Europe. The Austrian championship of German unity was lost for ever. The Archduke Charles and Count Stadion, were forced to retire into private life. The work of the latter was taken over by the diplomatist Metternich, who, polished, seductive, self-possessed, and unenthusiastic, was in the future to play so great a part in the story of the settlement of Europe. For a short time Austria waited to see what might come from Great Britain, but she was utterly discouraged by the ghastly fiasco of the Walcheren expedition under Lord Chatham and Sir Richard Strachan. Chatham had received the most explicit instructions from Lord Castlereagh : " Your lordship will consider the operation in question as, in its execution, more immediately directed against the fleet and arsenals of France in the Scheldt. The complete success of the operation would include the capture or destruction of the whole of the enemy's ships, either building at Antwerp, or afloat in the Scheldt, the entire destruction of their yards and arsenals at Antwerp, Terneuse and Flushing, and the rendering, if possible, the Scheldt no longer navigable for ships of war." Chatham, however, made the great mistake of attacking Flushing only, and the army was ravaged by fever. It is of some interest to notice that, although the organiser of the expedition has been blamed, Wellington approved of it. He wrote to Castlereagh on August 25th, " It may be satisfactory to you to know that I don't think matters would have been much better if you had sent your large expedition to Spain instead of the Scheldt." The chances of Austrian success now looked dim indeed, and, contrary to the strenuous advice of Count Stadion, the Treaty of Vienna was signed on October 14th. Napoleon did not spare the Emperor, for not only were Salzburg, Berchtesgaden, and the district of the Inn given to Bavaria, but Western Galicia and Cracow were added to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. Nor did he forget his own desire for more territory, and the district between the Adriatic and the Save were made into the Illyrian Provinces under his own rule. The humiliation of Austria was completed by the harsh punishment of the Tyrolese insurgents and the execution of Hofer at Mantua in February, 1810.

The downfall of Prussia and Austria did not end the

aggressive conduct of Napoleon. As early as 1808 he had ordered Miollis to occupy Rome, and in May, 1809, he seized the Papal States. The Pope very naturally refused to recognize the confiscation and was imprisoned at Savona, where he remained for three years until transferred to Fountainebleau. The differences between Napoleon and the Pope date from the summer of 1801, when the Concordat was negotiated. As soon as the Pope's assent had been given, Napoleon proceeded to push the authority of the State beyond the limits agreed upon. The Organic decrees reaffirmed the former " Gallican articles " by which the power of Rome was modified in various ways and the finality of the Pope's decisions denied. A further complication was added by the Pope's reluctance to enforce the Continental blockade. Napoleon seems to have determined that stronger measures were necessary, and aimed at making the Papacy an appendage of the French Empire. Pius showed signs of yielding, but negotiations were delayed until Napoleon's falling fortunes reversed the situation and the Pope was released, in March, 1814, on the demand of the Allies. The political effects of Napoleon's Church policy were indeed of considerable importance. At first he had excited a certain amount of enthusiasm, which very rapidly changed to hatred. The Roman Catholics, especially the powerful society of the Congregation, and the Jews, turned against him. Napoleon laboured under a delusion that the Pope must be passively obedient to the Emperor of the French. It was partly his scandalous aggression against the Papacy which caused the Spaniards to rise and make that patriotic movement in 1808 which helped so much to bring about the collapse of him whom they regarded as an infidel. Napoleon looked upon the Papacy as a puny power that could be crushed or moulded as he liked. He learnt, too late, that the Pope had supporters all over Europe who were aroused by these actions to a spirit of resistance that no army could ever crush. The struggle made by the Pope undoubtedly increased the prestige of the Papacy, and the policy of peace and restoration of Pius VII. appealed far more to the world than Napoleon's interests and ambitions. The chief result of Napoleon's interference with Pius was, without question, the formation of an opposition which, if intangible, nevertheless helped to free Europe from despotism.

The struggle had, however, still to continue for some years, and on the surface Napoleon seemed to have gained complete supremacy in 1810. He had humiliated his brother Louis, and obliged him to resign the crown of Holland because he would not enforce the Continental system. At the same time Hamburg and the Hanseatic towns were annexed for the purpose of holding the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser against English commerce. Undoubtedly by this time Napoleon had brought about in France, Italy, and the Confederation of the Rhine many social improvements by the abolition of feudalism and the working of the Code. Prussia was at the feet of the French Emperor, while he divided the *dominium maris Baltici* with the Czar Alexander. This powerful alliance caused Canning's failure to conclude a treaty with the Kingdom of Sweden which was forced to relinquish any connection with Great Britain. The whole of Northern Europe was entirely under French dominion by troops being concentrated in solid formation from the river Elbe to the river Niemen. But powerful as Napoleon appeared, there was a limit to his schemes which he failed to recognize. The hatred of the Papacy and of the Spaniards, as already mentioned, was a danger that could hardly be avoided. To the fresh movement towards nationality and patriotism, which was again making itself evident in Central Europe, there was to be added the attitude of the Courts of Austria and Prussia, which must sooner or later lead to a renewed outbreak of war. The days had passed when it was merely a war of Cabinets ; the hatred, fear, and dread of Napoleon had permeated to the people ; and now he had to uphold the Continental system, with the object of Great Britain's ruin, contrary to the wish of all European nations. The Emperor's position was therefore superficially strong, but there were many cracks in the edifice that foretold catastrophe.

The restlessness of Napoleon was well illustrated in France during the years 1809 to 1811, when he continually changed his ministers. In January, 1809, Talleyrand was attacked in public ; and by June Fouché, owing to the illness of Crétet, became chief minister. In the August of the following year Fouché was dismissed, and was succeeded by General Savary,* whose character was of the worst, for Napoleon said

* A. J. M. Savary (1774–1833).

of him " I like him ; he would kill his own father, if I bade him." Two months later Dubois * was replaced by Pasquier,† an old Royalist and Councillor of the Parliament of Paris. At the beginning of 1811 more rapid changes were inaugurated. Portalis,‡ the General Censor, was succeeded by General Pommereul,§ a man now well advanced in years. Daru took the place of Maret as Secretary of State when the latter was sent to the Foreign Office, in place of Champagny,‖ who was dismissed.

The greatest change, however, and a cause of those already mentioned, was the divorce of Josephine in December, 1809, and the marriage with Marie Louise of Austria in the following January. Napoleon was undoubtedly puffed up by the magnificence of this alliance, and his ministerial changes were largely due to this fact ; they illustrate a distinct tendency towards the employment of Royalists and foreshadow an aristocratic reaction. Important as were the results of the marriage in the internal affairs of France, they were far more so in external politics. The Austrian matrimonial alliance snapped the link between France and Russia. Napoleon had made overtures for the hand of the Czar's sister, the Grand Duchess Anna and though the proposal had met with opposition from the Empress Dowager, Napoleon's sudden withdrawal was a personal slight. Alexander had long recognized the fact that he had gained nothing from the Treaties of Tilsit and Erfurt. He was ashamed of his sacrifice of Prussia when he saw Napoleon's treatment of that country. He was, too, particularly annoyed by the increase of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and the seizure of the Papal States in May, 1809, of Holland in July, 1810, and of Oldenburg in December, 1810. He had found that the alliance with France was a hindrance rather than an assistance in his designs on Constantinople. The Continental blockade had proved very injurious to Russian commerce ; the export trade declined and the country was cut off from the best supplies of coffee, sugar and other commodities. In December, 1810, Alexander began to admit colonial vessels

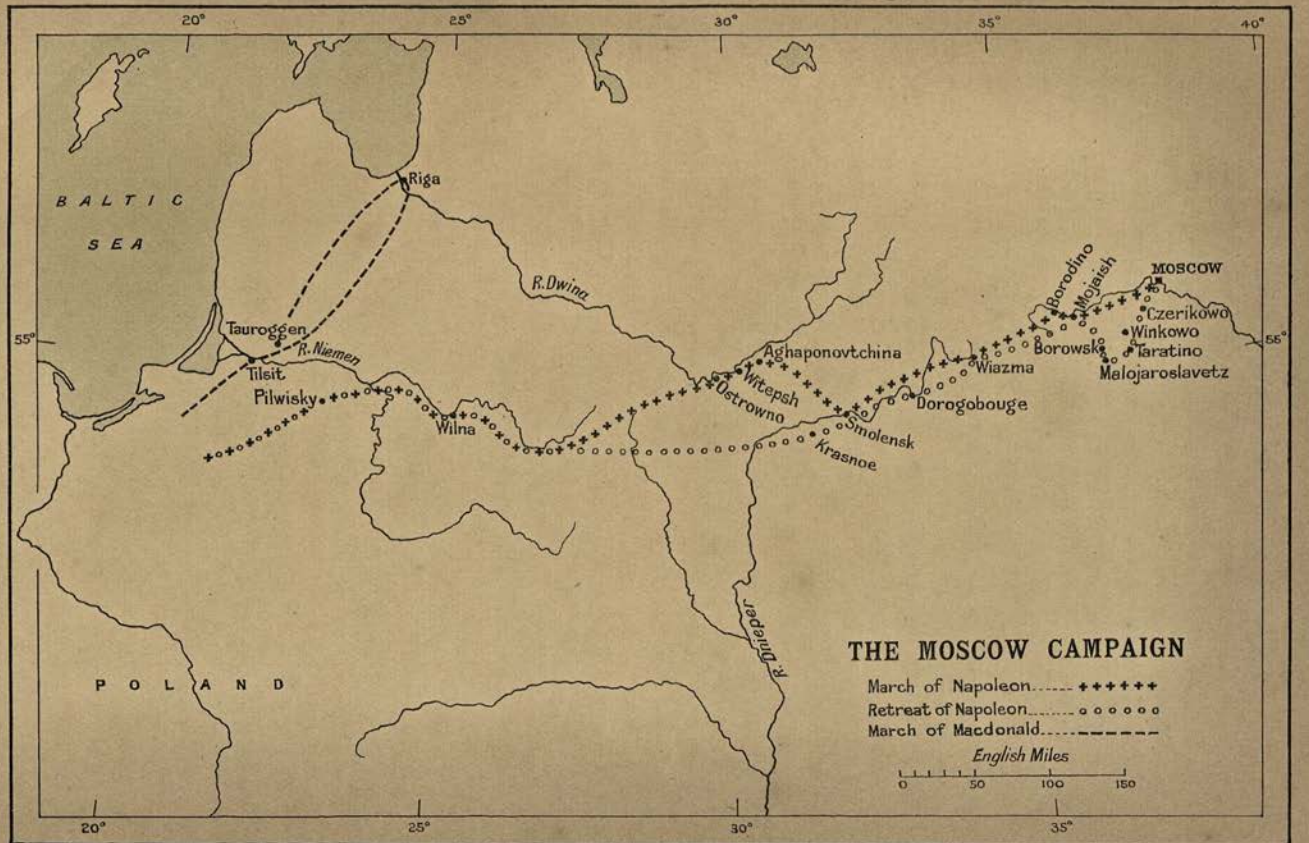
* E. L. Dubois de Crancé (1747–1814).
† E. D. Duc de Pasquier (1767–1862).
‡ J. M. Portalis (1778–1858).
§ François René Jean, Baron de Pommereul.
‖ J. B. N. de Champagny (1756–1834).

to the Russian ports, and during the following year the prohibition on British goods was gradually abandoned.

The position and character of Napoleon had also been changed. He was no longer the champion of revolutionary principles, but rather the successor of the great empire-builders of the past and the author of a gigantic scheme of personal and family aggrandisement. Starting life as a Republican general, he had now reached dazzling heights. He had posed before the world at first at the deliverer of oppressed nations, as the champion of the serf, as a worker in the cause of downtrodden humanity. In 1812 the whole situation was reversed; he had in turn become a despot and oppressor; he cared nothing for the serf of Poland or the peasant of Prussia; his purposes were entirely confined to his own ambitions and his own schemes of conquest.

Alexander saw that for the safety of Russia war was now inevitable, but he was forced to delay the actual outbreak for two reasons. The first was his anxiety to see if he could by any means win the Poles to his side; while the second lay in the fact that he was already engaged in war with Turkey. In 1810 the Russians had utterly defeated the Mohammedans at Battin, and this led to the Treaty of Bucharest in 1812. Bessarabia was ceded to Russia; while the boundary between the two Powers was to be the river Pruth. Wallachia and Moldavia were restored to the Sultan. The Turkish war having been satisfactorily concluded, war with France became a possibility. Unfortunately, Russia could not look to Prussia as a possible ally, for Hardenberg, sacrificing enthusiasm to prudence, offered the support of the North German kingdom to France. It was for this reason that the patriot Scharnhorst resigned and many Prussian officers tendered their services to the Czar.

Alexander I. took the final step in March, 1812, and war was actually declared against France on April 12th. He was joined in this action by Sweden, under Bernadotte, the aforetime marshal of Napoleon. This alliance was the natural outcome of the Treaty of Frederikshamn in 1809, by which Russia gained Finland. Napoleon worked with wonderful energy to raise a force to crush the Czar. He soon collected 400,000 men in East Germany; though the commissariat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Witepsh
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Smolensk
Krasnoe
Dorogobouge
Wiazma
Borowsk
Borodino
Mojaish
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was not by any means equal to the task of maintaining such a number. The Poles enthusiastically supported him. Their ambition, the re-establishment of the ancient Polish kingdom, had long been dreaded by Alexander, who foresaw that an attempt would be made to recover the territory which Russia had annexed. At a diet on June 26th the kingdom of Poland was declared to be re-established, though Napoleon refused to hold out any hopes of restoring its old frontiers. For the moment he had no intention of giving offence to Austria. On June 24th the army, perhaps 600,000 strong, crossed the Niemen and invaded Russian Poland. It was indeed a momentous day in the history of the world, for when Napoleon really started on this celebrated campaign he also decided his ultimate fate. The French endeavoured to bring to action the Russians under the command of Prince Barclay de Tolly,* who retreated until he joined Prince Peter Bagration.† De Tolly's movement was really masterly and exactly the right strategy to adopt. But it was naturally disheartening to the Russian people, and he was therefore recalled. The new general, Kutusoff,‡ after a stubborn fight, was utterly defeated on September 7th at Borodino; but the victory gave nothing to Napoleon except the possibility of advancing on Moscow, which he did, without very serious loss. He entered Moscow to find it deserted, and within a few days three-fourths of it in ashes by the action of its Governor, Count Feodor Rostopchin.§

On October 19th Napoleon ordered the retreat that was to be the most terrible in history. His army now consisted of only 108,000 men and 569 guns. Prince Kutusoff led a force to meet him on a southerly route at Taroslevetz, which he had to evacuate after a bloody fight on October 23rd. Kutusoff, however, barred the road to Kaluga, and by the time the army reached Wiazma it numbered no more than 49,000 men. At the end of the first week of November the horrors of a Russian winter began to be

* Michael, Prince Barclay de Tolly (1761–1818).

† Prince Ivanovich Bagration (1765–1812); fought at Austerlitz, Eylau, Friedland; died from wounds received at Borodino.

‡ Michael Kutusoff, Prince of Smolensk (1745–1813); fought against the Turks; defeated Davout and Ney at Smolensk.

§ Feodor Vassilievich, Count Rostopchin (1763–1826); a favourite of the Emperor Paul; appointed, by Alexander, Governor of Moscow; a versatile writer.

experienced. The army hastened forward to Smolensk, expecting to find food and warm clothing ; but the organization had broken down, and they found neither. On November 17th Kutusoff allowed Napoleon and the main army to pass him at Krasnoi, but fell upon the rear and took 16,000 prisoners. Marshal Ney and a few troops only escaped by crossing the Dnieper. At the crossing of the Beresina, on November 28th, the Russians cannonaded the French, who were still further discomforted by the collapse of a bridge. Napoleon saw the complete ruin of his schemes if he waited with his army, and so, on December 3rd, hastened to Paris, leaving the remnant of his men under the command of Murat. The Niemen was crossed on December 13th, and it was Eugene Beauharnais who led back into Prussia between 90,000 and 100,000 men out of an original army of 600,000, which during retreat had been joined by reinforcements at different times to the number of 100,000. The horrors of this celebrated retreat were not so much due to the rigours of the winter, nor to the national rising amongst the Russians themselves, but rather to Napoleon's own great mistake in setting out to accomplish an impossibility in the time given. It is now universally agreed that it was madness for him to drive so large a force into the heart of Russia, even though the ancient capital of Moscow was his objective. If an invasion of Russia had to be made, his army might have wintered at Smolensk. The fact was that Napoleon was on the downward path ; he was degenerating as a leader of men and as a strategist. His creative genius, his personal influence, his command of men, were all declining, but with this decrease in the very essentials of success his schemes became more vast than ever before.

It is, however, certain that, disastrous as had been the Moscow campaign, Napoleon was not entirely without advantages on his return to Western Europe. In Germany there was as yet no sign of concerted action. Prussia was quite unable to raise an army to a war footing as quickly as had been hoped, and the King had not the will-power, the quickness, the resolution to take any decisive action. The kingdom of Prussia was in a state of disruption ; and neither financial ruin nor a disordered Government could help to create a great military force. Russia, too, had suffered in the

attack on Moscow. Although the war spirit ran high, there were factious quarrels, for one party under Alexander wished to carry the war against France into the heart of Europe and to become the deliverer of that Continent; while the other, under the commander-in-chief, Kutusoff, wished to terminate the war at the frontier. It was better understood by the General than by the Czar that the Russian soldiers were far outnumbered by the French even after the disaster; and it was well known that the organization of the French army of new recruits was far superior to the indiscriminate way in which the Russian force was composed. The whole of Europe was ready enough to growl against the oppressor, but Napoleon was aware that he was still feared; and, although he lacked good cavalry and tacticians, he had every chance of raising new forces in those countries which still supported him, such as France, Italy, Illyria, the Netherlands, and the greater part of Germany.

On the other hand, the Emperor had lost his veterans, and any new army that he might call into being must lack the strength of the old, and would never have the heart in the struggle that he had in his great days been able to inspire. The war would necessarily in the future be very different to what it had been in the past. The spirit of all the peoples of Europe had been roused in a way that had never, hitherto, been shown. The misfortunes of Prussia had helped her to revive; a great moral force revealed itself, and all classes now flew to arms. The national poets, such as Karl Theodor Körner,* inspired the people with their songs of liberty, and were, at the same time, ready to lay down their lives for their fatherland. Scharnhorst, Gneisenau,† and Hardenberg came forward again to help Prussia in her hour of need, and the first, in creating a national army, did much to liberate Germany from the despot.

The Moscow campaign made a profound impression throughout Europe, and men felt that a new era was about to dawn. In December the shilly-shally policy of the Prussian

* Karl Theodor Körner (1791–1813); wrote *Der Grüne Domino*, *Der Nachwächter*, *Zring*, *Leier und Schwert*; the latter published after his death in 1814.

† August Wilhelm, Graf Neithardt von Gneisenau (1760–1831); joined Prussian army 1786; fought at Saalfeld and Jena 1805; defended Colberg 1807; fought at Leipzig and Waterloo; field-marshal of the Prussian army 1831.

King was settled for him by General Yorck making the Convention of Tauroggen, and his troops joined the Russians. Stein was made the official of the Czar in East Prussia, and immediately convened the Diet of Königsberg, which ordered a levy of arms against France. The distracted Frederick William fled from Berlin to Breslau, and in February, 1813, concluded with the Czar the Treaty of Kalisch. By this alliance Russia was to obtain that part of Poland which had hitherto belonged to Prussia. The kingdom of Prussia was to be restored to the old boundaries of 1806. Russia promised to supply 150,000 men and Prussia 80,000 against Napoleon. At the same time Sweden, by the Compact of Trachenburg in July, allied with Great Britain in resisting the common foe. Germany was also aroused; Austria was most anxious to throw off the yoke of France; Prussia's hatred was no less deep and steadfast. Saxony, Bavaria, and the rest of the Confederation were still in alliance with Napoleon; but a change might happen at any moment, for Stein was beginning to create in the minds of all thinking Germans the noble image of a common and beloved fatherland.

The allied forces of Russia and Prussia were ready as early as March, 1813, when the Russian general Wittgenstein* entered Berlin in conjunction with General Yorck.† As military monarchies at this time, it is noticeable that Russia and Prussia were very different. It was obvious that Russia might be beaten in the struggle, but there was no chance of her being held by the conqueror. The Russian people were most warlike, but their chief want was organization and method. As a counterbalance to this there was the one central figure round which to rally—the Holy Czar, head of the Greek Church. Incessant wars in Turkey and the Caucasus had given to the Russian army generals of considerable experience and merit; but, unfortunately, there had been no change in tactics for many years. On the other hand, the people of Prussia were peaceful and industrious. They had no one like the Cossacks, with their dash and fire, but this lack was compensated for by their splendid organization. Prussia had not the mineral wealth of Russia, but Stein and Scharn-

* L. A., Prince Wittgenstein (1769–1843).

† Hans David Ludwig Yorck von Wartenburg (1759–1830); entered the Prussian army 1772; field-marshal 1821.

horst had done much to encourage the resources of the country since 1806. In particular, as has been shown, the army was entirely reformed, and by the creation of regulars, militia, and reserve, together with the abolition of the obsolete tactics of Frederick the Great, the Prussians had a great national force of very considerable strength and a population peculiarly suitable for organised effort. On the whole, therefore, though Prussia could only supply about half the number of men, they were at least as formidable as the Russian forces, for the superior organization made up for the want of numbers, and the Prussian army was after all only the vanguard of an armed nation.

The War of Liberation of 1813 did not meet with the response that might have been expected. Kutusoff, Blücher, Wittgenstein, and others did their best, though they have been accused of losing their great opportunity when the French were divided. Blücher counted every moment lost that kept him from battle, but agreement was almost impossible, and the hopes of raising Saxony caused delay, and to no purpose. After some fighting in March and April between the Allies and Beauharnais, the serious campaign began in May. On the 1st of that month Napoleon fought the Allies at Grossgörschen, near Lutzen, and although he was victorious, the Allies were not crushed. A fortnight later the French Emperor entered Dresden. The Allies were obliged to fall back, but on May 21st Alexander, Gortchakoff * and Blücher stopped at Bautzen, on the Spree. This river Napoleon crossed on the morning of the 20th, and on the next day fought a strategically indecisive battle. The French were severely handled, and had the allied generals been able to agree, Napoleon would not have called Bautzen a victory. He pushed his wearied regiments in pursuit of the Allies. They were exhausted, and had Napoleon pressed on he might have been able to crush them entirely. But he was ill-supplied with cavalry and nervous about the attitude of Austria. He halted in the moment of victory and concluded a seven weeks' armistice on June 4th at Pläswitz.

Up to this time Austria, under the guidance of Metternich, had stood aloof. This was chiefly due to two things. In

* Alexander Gortchakoff (1764–1825).

the first place, Metternich * disliked the reforms of Stein and did not wish to aggrandise Russia; secondly, being a diplomat before all things, he intended only to join the alliance when it suited him. After the armistice of June 4th he offered to Napoleon to act as mediator and bring about a general peace. On June 27th Metternich signed with the Allies the Treaty of Reichenbach, by which he promised to join them if Napoleon did not accept his terms. From France he demanded the restoration of the Illyrian Provinces and generally, the withdrawal of Napoleon from his interference in Germany. A proposed conference at Prague in July and August on these terms proved abortive, and Austria therefore declared war on August 12th.

Castlereagh wrote very strongly to Lord Aberdeen, then ambassador at Vienna: "Your lordship will collect from these instructions that a general peace, in order to provide adequately for the tranquillity and independence of Europe, ought, in the judgment of His Majesty's Government, to confine France at least within the Pyrenees, the Alps and the Rhine; and if the other Great Powers of Europe should feel themselves enabled to contend for such a peace, Great Britain is fully prepared to concur with them in such a line of policy. If, however, the Powers most immediately concerned should determine, rather than encounter the risks of a more protracted struggle, to trust for their own security to a more imperfect arrangement, it never has been the policy of the British Government to attempt to dictate to other States a perseverance in war which they did not themselves recognize to be essential to their own as well as to the common safety." This was written on August 6th, but Metternich failed to persuade Napoleon to accept his terms.

Napoleon did not hesitate to take immediate steps. He despatched Oudinot against Berlin, but he was defeated by Bernadotte at Gross-Beeren on August 23rd. Macdonald had also been sent into Silesia, but he was defeated by Blücher on the river Katzbach three days later. Napoleon himself returned from seeking Blücher in Silesia, and by the battle of

* Clemens Lothar Wenzel, Prince Metternich (1773–1859); Austrian Minister at Paris 1805; concluded Treaty of Fontainebleau 1807; foreign minister of Austria 1809; very prominent at the Congress of Vienna, 1814-15; the representative of reaction 1815–1848; fled to England 1848; retired to his castle on the Rhine 1851.

Dresden on August 26th and 27th saved the city from Schwarzenberg.* The Allies were forced to retreat, but, while doing so, utterly defeated Vandamme † in a two days' fight (August 29th and 30th) at Kulm, in the Bohemian mountains. The French fought well, but were forced to give way ; 10,000 prisoners were taken with large quantities of stores and cannon. Ney,‡ who had replaced Oudinot, was utterly defeated at Dennewitz by Bülow on September 6th. The success of the Allies did much to encourage them, and Ney might well exclaim " I have been totally defeated and do not yet know whether my army has reassembled. The spirit of the generals and officers has been shattered." Such was the feeling at that time, and the Allies renewed their promises at the Treaty of Töplitz on September 9th. It was there agreed that the members of the Rhenish Confederation were to maintain their power but to resume their independence. This was particularly the work of Metternich, who was opposed to any national German policy. Baron von Stein had hoped for a rising of the whole German people and had strongly advocated a national parliament. Metternich, however, dreaded the thought of popular agitation, and regarded Stein's schemes of dethroning the petty princes and setting up the people in parliament as ultra-radical and savouring of a revolution as excessive as that of France. By the Treaty of Ried, which was signed on October 3rd, Bavaria deserted Napoleon and joined the Allies. The complexity of the system of alliances hindered decisive action. Schwarzenberg showed no power of initiative. Bernadotte, the Crown Prince of Sweden, was interested chiefly in the annexation of Norway, and, more remotely, in his prospects of succeeding to the French throne. Blücher was the only man who pressed for energetic measures, and he succeeded in getting the Allies to move across the Elbe on the same day as the Treaty of Ried.

At last the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian forces closed in

* K. P. von Schwarzenberg (1771–1820).

† Dominic René Vandamme (1770–1830).

‡ Michel Ney (1769–1815); general of brigade 1796; general of division 1799; marshal 1804 ; fought at Elchingen 1805, and at Jena, Eylau, Friedland ; took part in the Peninsular war and the Moscow campaign ; fought at Lutzen, Bautzen, Dennewitz, and Leipzig ; joined Louis XVIII., but returned to Napoleon ; shot as a traitor.

upon Napoleon at Leipzig. For three days (October 16-19) the desperate battle of the three nations raged. Napoleon was crushed, and by November 2nd was in full retreat beyond the Rhine, defeating on the way the Bavarian army at Hanau. At Leipzig Napoleon lost 40,000 killed and wounded, 30,000 prisoners, and 260 guns. The Allies themselves had suffered terribly, for in those three days the total of their killed and wounded was about 54,000. The campaign itself, taken in conjunction with the battle, was proof of Napoleon's failing powers. It was the second great example of a failure in his once masterly strategy. He still had some of the very best of generals, as, for example, Marmont and Ney, but he himself did not show his usual coolness and decision in handling the campaign. His army was no longer composed of veterans, but in many cases of unseasoned troops, some mere boys. There was, therefore, not only a want of mobility that is only obtained by long experience, but a lack of the training and the staying power that had distinguished the earlier army. Napoleon certainly had a grip upon the throat of Saxony, but that was hardly essential, and as long as he retained that grip he was unable to attack the most vulnerable points of his enemies. It is supposed that he would have done infinitely better had he moved to the strongly fortified Magdeburg and made that his centre for attack upon Berlin. His advances were not sufficiently decisive ; he ought to have crushed one of the three Powers and then moved against the two. It is possible that he was mistaken in making his stand upon the line of the Elbe, which was capable of being turned, and was so isolated that defeat involved a long retreat across Germany.

The results of the Battle of Leipzig were of the greatest consequence for Europe. The French garrisons at Dresden, Dantzig, Cüstrin, Stettin, and Torgau were surrendered, though for the time being those at Magdeburg, Hamburg, and Mainz held out. Denmark, by the Treaty of Kiel, was forced to abandon the Napoleonic alliance in January, 1814. The King of Saxony was taken prisoner, and his kingdom, together with Berg, was put under the administration of Stein. Brunswick and Oldenburg received their old rulers ; the Kingdom of Westphalia was broken up, and Jerome fled ; the Rhenish Confederation joined the Allies to a man ; and

the great Empire of Napoleon collapsed. Norway was ceded to Sweden; while Holland was freed by Graham and Bülow* and restored to the son of the dispossessed Stadtholder. Terms were offered to the French Emperor at Frankfurt on November 9th, but these were put off with indefinite replies, for he was to surrender all conquests beyond the Alps and the Rhine. The terms were withdrawn on December 1st, and the Allies determined to invade France.

Stein made strenuous efforts, and by his intervention with the Czar the invasion was made in the last week of 1813. Schwarzenberg made a detour through Switzerland to Champagne to capture the Plateau of Langres, which was of some strategic value. Blücher was allowed to take the direct route, and on December 31st crossed the Rhine near Coblenz. For the first few weeks of January the monarchs and diplomatists waited at Langres, expecting to hear of terms from Napoleon. Some indeed, Metternich in particular, wished to stop the advance, but the Czar threatened to carry it on by himself, so that Austria had to give way. Napoleon showed wonderful strategy. His advantage consisted in the fact that the roads to Paris have to cross the river system by a series of bridges. An inferior force, occupying a central position, had an opportunity of crushing opponents in detail, whenever they emerged from the shelter of the rivers. This advantage was conceded to the French by Schwarzenberg's failure to support Blücher. Napoleon hoped to cut off Blücher at St. Dizier before he could reach Schwarzenberg, but the Prussian was too quick and had got as far as Brienne before overtaken by the Emperor. An indecisive battle took place, and Blücher joined the Austrians. Napoleon was now far outnumbered and was defeated on February 1st at La Rothière. Once again Schwarzenberg held back; had he pushed on the war might have been concluded. On February 5th a conference met at Châtillon-sur-Seine. The Allies demanded that France should retire within the boundaries of 1791, giving up Belgium, the left bank of the Rhine, Savoy and Nice. Caulaincourt † was instructed to propose that France

* F. W. Bülow (1755–1816); Count von Dennewitz.

† Armand de Caulaincourt (1772–1827); general of division 1805; Minister of Foreign Affairs 1813; supported Napoleon and received a peerage of France in 1815.

should retain the boundaries of 1797. But his success presently nerved Napoleon to make a final effort before confessing defeat. In the meantime Blücher left Schwarzenberg to move towards Troyes, while he made an independent advance on Paris. His plan was carelessly executed, and he was suddenly attacked by Napoleon himself. In four days Blücher, Yorck and Sacker suffered a series of defeats, which in turn led to the defeat of Schwarzenberg when coming to Blücher's assistance. The Austrians fell back towards Langres, and the Prussian general was expected to concentrate with Bülow from Holland. These extraordinary successes made Napoleon demand far more from the Congress of Châtillon which had reassembled on February 17th. His demands were far too great ; even Austria could not tolerate the arrogance of his proposals, and by the Treaty of Chaumont on March 9th the Powers bound themselves to go on with the war until France was reduced to the limits of her territory before the Revolution. The Emperor followed Blücher to the north with every hope of capturing him before he united with the army of General Bülow. Napoleon was mistaken, and Blücher met the Russian General Winzingerode * coming south. Together they advanced on Laon, when Marmont was defeated on March 10th and the Emperor was obliged to retreat. He lost valuable time in making a detour to join Oudinot,† and on March 19th found himself confronted by 100,000 men under Schwarzenberg at Arcis-sur-Aube. After one day's fight he saw that his only chance was to threaten their communications, thus leaving Paris open. The armies, therefore, of Schwarzenberg and Blücher advanced on the capital, a mere detachment of cavalry being left to hoodwink the Emperor. The first attack on Paris was made on March 30th. Marmont had only a disheartened force, and by noon the capital of France had capitulated. The next day the Allies entered in triumph and the despotism of Napoleon seemed at an end. A provisional Government under Talleyrand was

* Ferdinand, Baron von Winzingerode (1770–1818); at Dresden; in Holland; at the Congress of Vienna.

† Charles Nicolas Oudinot (1767–1847); fought at Austerlitz, Jena, Ostrolenka, and Friedland; created marshal of France 1804; occupied Holland 1810; fought in Moscow campaign; became under Bourbons a Minister of State and commander-in-chief.

at once appointed, and on April 2nd Napoleon was dethroned, and four days later the House of Bourbon was recalled. On April 10th Wellington completed his Peninsular War successes by the defeat of Soult at Toulouse, and at the same moment the treaty was signed which brought the first Empire of France to an end. The once all-powerful General was still allowed to bear the meaningless title of Emperor, and, with a considerable fortune and a bodyguard, was forced to retire to Elba, which was to be both his principality and his prison.

On April 29th, 1814, the Count of Provence came from Hartwell in Buckinghamshire to take over the throne of his long line of ancestors, and was immediately proclaimed Louis XVIII. The Allies were anxious to be as lenient as possible with a Sovereign who had nothing to do with the long years of aggression and with a country that had been the tool of an unprincipled despot. For this reason the first Treaty of Paris, which was signed on May 30th, was by no means harsh. The dominion of France was once again to be confined within those borders that had been hers in 1792. No indemnity was to be asked in return for the colossal expenditure that Napoleon had caused in every European country, and all the art treasures, except those trophies from the Brandenburg Gate of Berlin and the Library of Vilma, were left in the hands of France. It was an extraordinary act of generosity not only to allow to France freedom from burdens that she had placed on others, but also to allow her to retain the outcome of twenty years' spoliation and rapine. Mauritius was ceded to England; Holland was to be restored to the House of Orange, and the Dutch Colonies were given back, except Essequibo, Demerara, and the Cape of Good Hope, the latter being actually purchased by Great Britain. The Colonies of France which had fallen to British sea-power were restored, except Tobago, St. Lucia, and Île de France. In June, Louis published his *Charter of the Constitution*, dated "in the nineteenth year of our reign." There was to be a chamber of hereditary peers, and a chamber of Deputies, consisting in the first place of the existing deputies and in the future to be elected on a high franchise. The chamber of deputies was to initiate money-bills; otherwise the initiative in legislation was to lie with the Crown. The Catholic

religion was recognised by the State, but toleration was guaranteed: liberty of the Press was granted, but modifications were foreshadowed. The Charter was, explicitly, a concession, and not an agreement between Sovereign and people. From the first the situation needed firm resolution and tactful handling. The Treaty of Paris associated the restored monarchy in the eyes of the nation with a national humiliation—no small matter in the case of a people who had been so long bribed with glory. The work of financial retrenchment was delicate. In the face of a large deficit expenses had to be cut down, while obnoxious taxes were maintained; so that unpopularity with those who suffered by the curtailing of the National services was not counterbalanced by any gratitude from the general taxpayer. The soldiers of the Empire, in a special degree, felt slighted by the favour shown to *emigrés*, while *Monsieur* and the Ultras remained unsatisfied because the whole structure of the *ancien regime* was not restored; the nation was feverish and nervous. Only time could cure, but a firm and enthusiastic leader might powerfully assist by soothing fears and curbing animosities. Here only the Government of the Restoration may be said to have failed. Talleyrand at Vienna did France masterly service; Baron Louis showed courage in his handling of the financial problem; but nowhere—least of all in the King himself—was the inspiring force which was needed. Paris soon recovered from her enthusiasm for the Bourbon. All over the country the peasant began to fear for his holding; even the stories of a general massacre of terrorists were widely current. France was growing restless, and Napoleon hearing the news in his island prison determined to strike at once. He landed near Cannes on March 1st, 1815, and was joined by Soult, Masséna, Augereau, and Ney. He then moved to Grenoble, supported heartily by the populace and the military. Napoleon's advance caused Louis to fly over the border; and on the Emperor's arrival in Paris he immediately appointed a ministry of his old servants, Fouché, Carnot, Maret,* and Cambacères. He then employed Benjamin Constant† to draw up a convention resembling somewhat

* H. B. Maret (1763–1839).

† H. Benjamin Constant de Rebecque (1767–1830); for some time at Oxford; settled in Paris 1795; banished by Napoleon 1802; friend of Madame de Stäel;

the Charter of the Constitution. It was called the *Acte Additionnelle*, and provided for the establishment of two Houses of Parliament, Peers and Representatives, which should share control with the Executive. About the same time Murat deserted the Allies and rose on behalf of his own master. He attacked the Papal States and pushed forward against the Austrians; but on this occasion fortune was against the trimmer, who was defeated at Tolentino, and Ferdinand was restored.

On the night of June 11th Napoleon started for the northern frontier to attack the British and Prussians, who were covering Brussels from the west and east. Two days after the start 129,000 French were concentrated at Beaumont and Philippeville. Wellington was at Brussels with, to use his own words, "an infamous army, very weak and ill-equipped, and a very inexperienced staff." His total force consisted of about 95,000 of British, Dutch, Germans, and Belgians. The Prussians were as an outpost screen at Charleroi, but were driven thence on June 14th and retreated towards Ligny, on which Blücher concentrated his main force. Two days later Blücher, with a numerically superior army, met Napoleon, who was commanding a finer army of veterans than he had had since the retreat from Moscow. Blücher was defeated, but Napoleon miscalculated the pertinacity of the Prussians, who, he thought, must retire eastward to Namur. This was a great blunder, for had Napoleon continued against the Prussians the cause of the Allies would have been ruined. As it was, Blücher was allowed to escape northwards to join Wellington. The British had, on the same day as the battle of Ligny, attacked Ney at Quatre Bras. Between the two battlefields General d'Erlon,* with an army corps forming Ney's reserve and part of the left wing, was called to Ligny and then back to Quatre Bras, but arrived too late to prevent Ney's defeat.

The Prussians, under the leadership of Gneisenau, Blücher being for the moment incapacitated, fell back to Wavre,

returned to France 1814; wrote in favour of constitutional government after 1815; a member of the Chamber of Deputies 1819; wrote among others *De la Réligion* and *Adolphe*.

* Jean Baptiste Drouet, Comte d'Erlon (1765–1844); fought in the Peninsular War, and in Belgium; fled to Bavaria 1815; Governor-General of Algeria 1834–35.

while Wellington, who had foreseen the Prussian defeat at Ligny, retired to Waterloo on July 17th, closely pursued by Napoleon. Blücher sent a message to Wellington that he would join him and that they would fight the great battle together. Grouchy for some unexplained reason had failed to keep the Prussians in sight; while Napoleon had calculated only on having to attack the mixed force under Wellington, extending for two miles along a gentle slope crossing at right angles the road from Charleroi to Brussels. On the right was the château of Hougomont, while in the centre there was the farmstead of La Haye Sainte, both of which were used as fortified outposts.

On the morning of Waterloo, Wellington with 70,000 men was obliged to fight a defensive battle so as to give time for Blücher to come up. The main feature of the contest was the steadfast resistance of the British army to all the attacks of the French, culminating in the final onslaught of the Old Guard, and its complete repulse in the late afternoon. Wellington, seeing that the Prussians, at last, began to press in on the French right, gave the order to advance, an action which was made perfectly safe on the arrival of the Prussian main army. Thus the converging Anglo-Prussian forces routed the French with the Prussians hard upon their heels, and a death-blow to the ambitions of Napoleon was finally struck. The loss in that great battle was terrible; the British losses were put at 13,000; the Prussian at 7,000; while the French are said to have suffered to the extent of 30,000. It was a victory of supreme importance. Great as had been the naval battle of Trafalgar, which saved England from invasion, Waterloo was greater still. In the first battle Great Britain was saved from the clutches of the most celebrated of all commanders; but in the second Wellington and Blücher did a service to the whole of the civilized world.

Napoleon made some efforts to rally his dispersed forces at Philippeville and Laon, but these proved ineffectual, and he fled to Paris, which he reached on June 21st. The Assembly having declared against him, Carnot and Lucien Bonaparte begged him to seize the dictatorship, but he refused and abdicated in favour of his son. On June 28th the Prussians appeared to the north of Paris, and after Davout had pro-

claimed the capital incapable of defence a capitulation was signed, and the Allies entered on July 7th. In the meantime Napoleon had escaped to Rochefort with the hope of taking ship to the United States. He lingered too long; and, fearing capture, he embarked on H.M.S. *Bellerophon*, trusting to the good nature of the English to find him a happy resting place until his opportunity came again. The lesson of the year 1814 had not been learnt in vain, and when Napoleon found himself off Plymouth he heard that the verdict had been passed upon him and he was henceforth to remain a prisoner on the ocean-girdled rock of St. Helena, where he died in 1821.

Napoleon had without doubt made many mistakes since the Treaty of Tilsit. His perseverance in the Continental system; his rousing the national spirit of the Spaniards; the unwarrantable attack upon the Papacy; the oppression of Prussia; the quarrel with Russia and the Moscow campaign; the position of his armies after the Conference at Prague; his steady refusal of terms, and the gradual alienation of France—all show him to have been liable to the errors of humanity. And yet it may truly be said that there was something of the superhuman in this giant among generals. He was the greatest soldier the world has ever seen; but with all his brilliancy as a leader, he never entirely forgot the necessities of his country. To France he brought the greatest curse of unrest and desire of aggrandisement, but he also gave to her internal prosperity. It was Napoleon who allowed the return of the *émigrés*, though he angered, by his action, his own marshals and generals. Under his rule education was increased, technical schools and semi-military *lycées* were instituted throughout France. The Legion of Honour, which he created in 1802, tended to form a new aristocracy to take the place of that which had been so shattered by the Revolution. Public works, roads, canals, town improvements, were all undertaken at his command. By his Code of 2,281 articles he established law and order; he freed the land from feudal burdens; he encouraged the division of property in the interests of equality; and the law of persons was improved by toleration in religion and equality in possession.

The violence and the volume of Napoleonic legislation are to a certain extent compensated for by its splendid achieve-

ments. If Napoleon's rule affords many examples of deplorable errors, at the same time it must be acknowledged that his administrative system was wonderfully successful both within the kingdom of France and in those foreign countries that came under the direct influence of the Emperor. There was behind the system the momentum of a great person. The men employed were inspired by the vastness of the schemes of their leader. He above all men could lead, encourage, force and coerce. Nothing was allowed to be slipshod, nor was there any tendency to badly done work, for the officials regarded themselves as the bearers of glad tidings, the messengers of intellectual illumination. On the other hand, it is only fair to point out that the ruthless pillage of art treasure ; the bribery and corruption ; the tribute of men and money ; the unfair exclusion of the Powers from French markets—all tended to ruin a system that had great possibilities. Two things in particular contributed to its failure. The first was the unstable, restless, and suspicious character of the Emperor himself, owing to which he lost after a short time the good will of his officials. The second was the fact that time was not given him to develop his schemes. Had he ruled some years longer, there is little doubt that he could have established such a body of civil servants by whom he would have governed his dependencies with skill and moderation.

France needed, after the heat and burden of the Revolution, the very strongest possible government, and this Napoleon undoubtedly gave. The long struggle resulted in much for which France should still bless the great Emperor. He gave her social equality, political order and the " career open to talents ; " his rule was above petty factiousness of party and unwittingly he healed the schisms in the Church. But his schemes were too vast to continue ; he undertook far more than any human being could carry out. To him France owes the loss of her Rhine frontier ; to his lust of possession France owes her curtailed dominion to-day ; to him France owes much of her history for the next century.

Although more has been written on Napoleon Bonaparte than upon any human being, yet his character must ever remain something of a mystery. He once said of himself

IRELAND
ENGLAND
BALTIC SEA
R. Niemen
Danzig
Lubeck
Hamburg
PRUSSIA
GRAND DUCHY
OF WARSAW
Warsaw
BERLIN
R. Elbe
R. Oder
R. Vistula
CONFEDERATION
OF THE
RHINE
R. Danube
VIENNA
AUSTRIA
R. Drave
R. Danube
PARIS
R. Seine
R. Rhine
R. Loire
BAY OF
BISCAY
FRANCE
HELVETIC
LEAGUE
ILLYRIAN PROVINCES
KINGDOM
OF
ITALY
Venice
Genoa
Leghorn
R. Rhone
ADRIATIC SEA
Corsica
ROME
R. Tiber
NAPLES
Naples
Sardinia
Balearic Is.
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Sicily
PORTUGAL
R. Douro
R. Ebro
MADRID
SPAIN
LISBON
R. Tagus
R. Guadiana
R. Guadalquivir
NAPOLEON'S EMPIRE
1812
Directly Subject to Napoleon
Dependencies
English Miles
0 100 200 300 400
15° 10° 5° 0° 5° 10° 15° 20° 25° 30° 35°
50° 45° 40°
Bartholomew, Edin.r

" I am Revolution," and many still regard him as the captain of militant democracy. Certainly at times he was hysterically violent, but his emotions never influenced his actions. To the Englishman of his day he was the avowed enemy of freedom, a tyrant, a liar, and a criminal. In another aspect his work was not in vain, for he broke down the worn-out systems of Europe and prepared the way for the unity of Italy and the consolidation of Germany. The period of his rule marks the ascendancy of Great Britain ; her supremacy on the sea and in the colonies was assured. He endeared himself to France and to her splendid soldiers ; he had wonderful histrionic powers and he was a finished actor in all his relations with men and women. He has been regarded as the greatest of human beings and as a villain who set back the clock for a century. But whether he is regarded as a soldier, a legislator, a liberal ruler, a despot, or a bully, it is difficult not to accept the verdict of de Tocqueville, " He was as great as a man can be without virtue."

NOTES AND DIAGRAMS

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Welschurger . . . *Ney.*

CONTEMPORARY EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

1809. The Duke of York charged with maladministration.
Duel between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning.
Mr. Perceval succeeded the Duke of Portland as Prime Minister.

1810. The case of Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Abbott.
Mr. Brand brought forward a motion for parliamentary reform.
Mr. Grattan proposed a motion on behalf of the Roman Catholics.
George III. became permanently insane.

1811. The Regency Bill.
The outbreak of the Luddite riots.

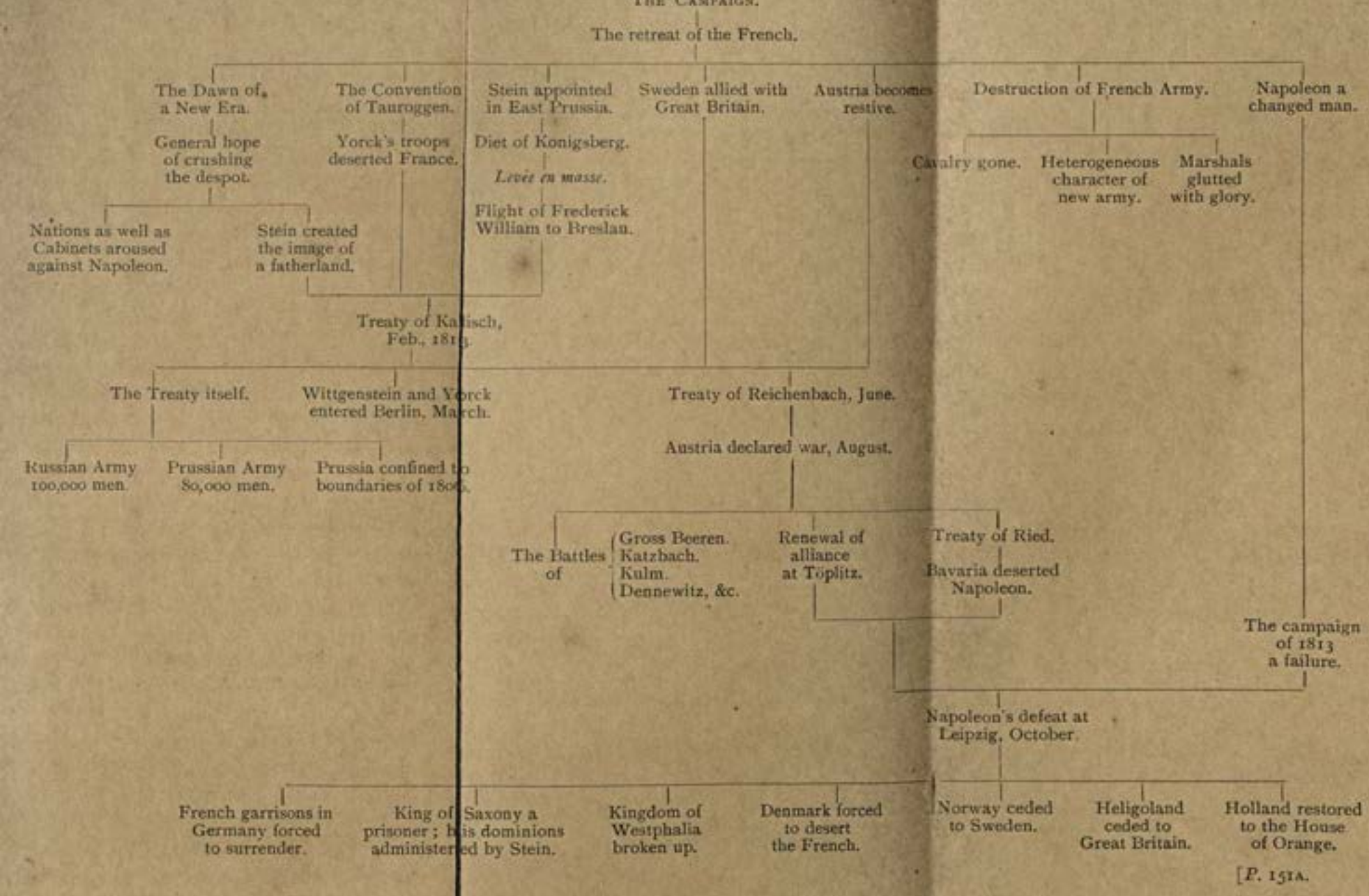
1812. Lord Castlereagh became Foreign Secretary.
Mr. Perceval is assassinated by Bellingham.
Lord Liverpool became Prime Minister.
War with the United States of America.

1813. The Roman Catholic Relief Bill brought forward by Mr. Grattan is dropped.
The charter of the East India Company was renewed.

1814. The visit of the allied Sovereigns to England.
The capture of Washington.
The Treaty of Ghent.

1815. The repulse of a British expedition at New Orleans.

THE RESULTS OF THE MOSCOW CAMPAIGN, 1812.


The Campaign.
The retreat of the French.
The Dawn of a New Era.
General hope of crushing the despot.
Nations as well as Cabinets aroused against Napoleon.
Stein created the image of a fatherland.
The Convention of Tauroggen.
Yorck's troops deserted France.
Stein appointed in East Prussia.
Diet of Konigsberg.
Levée en masse.
Flight of Frederick William to Breslau.
Sweden allied with Great Britain.
Austria becomes restive.
Destruction of French Army.
Cavalry gone.
Heterogeneous character of new army.
Marshals glutted with glory.
Napoleon a changed man.
Treaty of Kalisch, Feb., 1813.
The Treaty itself.
Russian Army 100,000 men.
Prussian Army 80,000 men.
Prussia confined to boundaries of 1806.
Wittgenstein and Yorck entered Berlin, March.
Treaty of Reichenbach, June.
Austria declared war, August.
The Battles of
Gross Beeren.
Katzbach.
Kulm.
Dennewitz, &c.
Renewal of alliance at Töplitz.
Treaty of Ried.
Bavaria deserted Napoleon.
The campaign of 1813 a failure.
Napoleon's defeat at Leipzig, October.
French garrisons in Germany forced to surrender.
King of Saxony a prisoner; his dominions administered by Stein.
Kingdom of Westphalia broken up.
Denmark forced to desert the French.
Norway ceded to Sweden.
Heligoland ceded to Great Britain.
Holland restored to the House of Orange.

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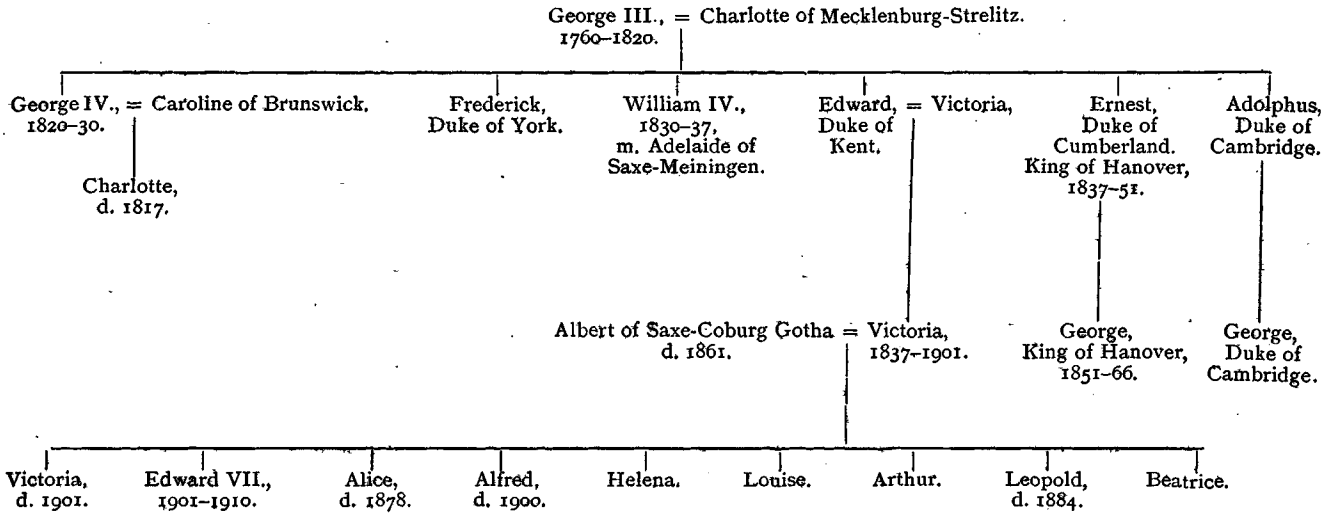
PEDIGREE OF THE HOUSE OF HANOVER.



CHAPTER VII

POLAND

1789–1815

PREVIOUS CONTEMPORARY EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF RUSSIA, POLAND, AND TURKEY

Date.	*Russia.*	*Poland.*	*Turkey.*
1762.	Accession of Catherine II.		
1764.	Church property united to the State.	Stanislas Poniatowski elected King.	
1768.	War with Turkey.	The confederation of Bar to exclude foreigners.	War declared to help the Polish patriots.
1769.	Russian victory on the Dnieper.		
1770.	Russian naval victory at Chesmé.	...	Defeat of Turks in Moldavia.
1771.	...	The Confederates failed to seize the King.	The Turks lost the Crimea.
1772.	Russia gained White Russia, and the land beyond the Dnieper.	The first partition of Poland.	
1773.	Cossack rebellion on the Don.	Changes in the Constitution.	Accession of Abdul Hamid.
1774.	Russia gained from the Turks Azof and Kinburn.	...	The Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji.
1777.	...	Final ratification of the Treaty of Partition.	
1778.	...	The Diet of Grodno.	
1779.	Russia renewed her treaty with Turkey.		
1780.	The armed neutrality against England.		
1784.	Russia retained the Crimea.	...	The Treaty of Constantinople.
1787.	Sweden declared war on Russia.	...	Suvorof defeated the Turks at Kinburn.
1788.	St. Petersburg threatened by Gustavus III.	The Four Years Diet begun.	Suvorof took Ochakof.
1789.	...	...	Suvorof won the battles of Fochshani and Rimnik. Succession of Selim III.
1790.	End of the Swedish war at the Treaty of Verela.	...	Capture of Ismail by Suvorof.

FOR many years the kingdom of Poland was in the unenviable position of being the bone over which the dogs wrangled, and which in the struggle was broken in pieces. It was, indeed, the intense weakness of Poland that made that country an easy prey for the greedy kingdoms along her borders. The

chief weakness of Poland lay in the vices of her Constitution. Instead of a sovereign with autocratic powers the King was an impotent character who could never make his office strong, for each one was elected by the party temporarily in power. Such an unsatisfactory state of affairs could not have continued had Poland possessed a sturdy middle-class capable of making its voice heard. The middle-class did not exist, and the nobles were the only so-called representatives of the nation in the Diet. One of the most absurd rules existed in conducting the business of the National Assembly; the *liberum veto* was a drawback to all quick and progressive legislation, and necessitated complete unanimity in every decision of the Diet. Besides these very obvious drawbacks the Confederation was not law-abiding. But the danger of Poland lay not completely in the want of a sound Constitution. There were plenty of spaces in her armour that invited the sword-thrust of the opponent. Russia had long wished to complete the power of the Greek Church, and had worked strenuously to embrace within the orthodox fold the whole of the Slav people. Poland was the stumbling block, for the Poles were almost to a man believers in the Roman Catholic faith. Prussia, too, had looked upon Poland with dislike, for by her means Eastern Prussia was severed from Brandenburg, and formerly the religious question had been prominent, for the Prussian Kings were the German champions of Protestantism. In any aggressive movement of either of the two northern Powers Austria had to be taken into consideration and conciliated. It was for this reason that Austria had her share in the first dismemberment of Poland in 1772. It was not, however, until three years later that the Polish Diet was persuaded to acquiesce in the robbery. The Polish Constitution was guaranteed by the Powers as a sop, but they annexed Polish territory; and a Council was called into existence which was under the tutelage of the Czar. The Russian strip of territory consisted of Polish Livonia, Vitebsk and other palatinates near the Dnieper. Prussia annexed Polish Prussia, except Dantzig and Thorn, and part of Greater Poland; while Austria accepted as her share the province of Galicia. It was indeed a direct and illegal seizure, but Poland was too weak at home and without friends abroad.

From 1775 until 1786 the influence of Russia was predominant, but it began to wane when the Turks declared war against the Northern Empire in 1787.

The momentary overthrow of Russian dominance brought Prussia forward in Polish affairs. When the "Four Years Diet" met at Warsaw in 1788 the Prussians were friendly, and, on March 29th, 1790, a defensive alliance was concluded. The attitude of Prussia was governed by no sentimental considerations, but depended upon her general policy in the East of Europe. In the early months of 1790, the scheme most favoured was to unite the members of the Triple Alliance—Prussia, England and Holland—with as many other Powers as possible in a determined effort to crush Austria and Russia, who were engaged in the Turkish War. Hertzburg, on the other hand, proposed that Prussia should mediate in the Turkish War, and in the subsequent negotiations obtain Dantzig and Thorn as compensation. But both schemes were defeated by the adroitness of Leopold II., the new Emperor; and with them disappeared Prussia's interest in the Polish Alliance. The Diet continued to talk about reform, and in December, 1790, rather than retire, fresh elections were held and the numbers were doubled. On May 3rd, 1791, King Stanislas Poniatowski made a great effort to overcome all the absurd obstruction that hedged in every action of the Diet. He took upon himself to propose a new Constitution, and in this he was supported by Ignatius Potocki,* Kollataj, and the Czartoryskis.† He won over the nobility as a whole, and all of them except twelve were ready to take the oath, which was administered in the cathedral.

The new Constitution contained many of the points that were most needed to revive Poland from her moribund state. The puppet King was to be a thing of the past, and in his place there was to be a Sovereign with so much personal power and initiative that he could, by his own commands, suppress all attempts at disorder. The old elective character of the succession was declared null and void; henceforth the throne was to be hereditary and pass to the Elector of Saxony, whose

* Ignatius, Count Potocki (1750–1809).

† The two were Prince Adam Czartoryski (1734–1823), and his son Adam George (1770–1861).

ancestors had sat upon the throne of Poland in the eighteenth century. The army was to be under the complete control of the King, who had also the full right of nominating all members of the Senate and all officers of State. At last, and most wisely, the *liberum veto* was to be suppressed and the working of the Diet made more manageable. It was to consist of two Chambers, meeting every two years and including representatives of the towns. As to religion, the Roman Catholic faith was to be recognized by the State, but henceforth there was to be toleration for all. The promulgation of this Constitution, which in so many ways was excellent, came as a great surprise to Russia, and was indeed a direct act of defiance to Catherine II. The religious question was definitely decided without Russian interference—and this was bad enough—but, in addition, the Elector of Saxony had been declared the successor of Stanislas Poniatowski.

The Swedish and Turkish troubles had in the past few years kept Russia too busy to take any active share in Polish questions. But in August, 1790, a peace had been made with Gustavus III., and there was every sign of a conclusion of the Turkish War. Catherine now made it her object to restore Russian influence in Poland, but she saw the trend of affairs in Europe, and, as has already been shown, she was left free to carry out her schemes when the rest of Europe allied to fight the French Revolutionaries after the execution of Louis XVI. in January, 1793. Austria was in no easy position. Leopold II. had to remember that, as Holy Roman Emperor, he must fight the battle of kings; he partially realized the danger in which his sister Marie Antoinette was placed, and his attention was naturally diverted to the West. At the same time he was bound in his own interests to keep his eyes turned towards Poland. He realized that a strong Polish State in the north-east was the mainstay of Roman Catholicism in Germany itself; and he hoped by means of his influence in Poland to retain his influence in North Germany. Busy as he was, therefore, he is supposed to have stimulated, or at any rate not discouraged, Stanislas in his reform schemes. The third interested Power was Prussia. The proposal in the Constitution that the House of Saxony should succeed to the Polish dominions was extremely distasteful

to Frederick William II. Prussia then wanted and was determined to have Dantzig and Thorn. If Saxony became the possessor of Poland Prussia's greedy desires would be thwarted. The Prussian minister Hertzberg * recommended the King openly to denounce the Constitution ; but he was not retained in office, and his successor Bischoffswerder, a Saxon by birth, proved himself of a less stern disposition, and his advice and proposals were vacillating. He cannot be entirely blamed for this, for the circumstances made European diplomacy by no means easy. At the moment, owing partially to French troubles, Prussia desired the alliance of Austria, and Prussia was not anxious to lose this alliance when there were possibilities of war with Russia over the terms of her settlement with Turkey. For this reason, then, Frederick William II., on May 16th, 1791, thought that the wiser plan was to approve the Polish arrangement. He declared, however, that if it should so chance that an heiress should succeed to the Polish throne she must not marry from the royal houses of Russia, Prussia, or Austria. The Prussian settlement was not altogether pleasing to Austria, and it was only after some difficulty that Bischoffswerder on July 25th obtained from Leopold a reluctant agreement.

This apparent settlement left Poland perfectly happy, but from that moment dangers appeared on every side. On January 9th, 1792, Catherine II. concluded her war with Turkey by the Treaty of Jassy, and she was now left with a free hand to interfere in Poland. On January 18th Frederick William succeeded to Ansbach and Baireuth in Southern Germany. Austria was jealous of the intrusion. The Poles were soon to learn that Prussia was no friend. Frederick William showed evident signs of disliking the Constituton which he had pretended to accept, and he based this dislike upon the character of the arrangement, which he pleaded was too much in favour of Austria. On February 7th, when the agreement with Austria was confirmed at the Treaty of Berlin, he altered the words of his agreement from " the " Constitution to " a " Constitution, which made all the difference. The death of Leopold had a very grave effect upon the situation. Up to this time the Minister of Austria had not advocated war, but the new Emperor, Francis II., fell

* E. F. von Hertzberg (1725–1795).

into the hands of those who were ready enough to use warlike threats. The Girondist Ministry in Paris forced the Powers to turn westward, and, after the declaration of war on April 20th, 1792, Prussia and Austria were engaged in that struggle which has already been described. The moment had therefore come for Catherine II., and she wasted no time in seizing her opportunity.

The new Constitution had been submitted to the Elector of Saxony, but in April, 1792, he declared that he could only accept on such conditions that he might as well have refused point blank. The Polish malcontents, under Felix Potocki, Francis Branicki, and Severin Rzewuski, supported and protected by Catherine, formed on May 14th the Confederation of Targowice, a town in the palatinate of Broclaw, near Humau. Their objects were to restore the old system that had so long proved the curse of their country. Four days after the formation of this confederation the Czarina publicly informed the Diet that it was her intention to support the demands of the malcontents. Twenty-four hours after the announcement two Russian armies were on their way to enforce Catherine's wishes, and the one entered Poland, the other Lithuania.

It was at this moment, and on other similar occasions, that the Poles showed that they really loved their country. Every confidence was at once expressed in their King Stanislas, and as a proof of their trust he was given supreme control over the army and revenue. He declared that it was his intention to defend his country and the new Constitution, that was to be its salvation, with his life. At the same time he despatched messengers to Prussia begging Frederick William to come to the assistance of that which he had promised to accept. Instead of assistance the Polish King received the staggering reply that the Prussians had only guaranteed the old Constitution and not that of May, 1791. Stanislas was therefore without allies, but he had in his service one really great man, Thaddeus Kosciusko.* This courageous and noble-minded patriot was a Lithuanian by birth, and

* Thaddeus Kosciusko (1752–1817); fought in the American War of Independence; fought in the Polish War, 1792; in France 1792–94; Commander-in-chief of Polish Army 1794; captured at Maciejowice; released by Paul I.; died in Switzerland.

had earned a considerable reputation in the American War of Independence, where he gained the rank of brigadier-general. He new fought magnificently against the Russians, especially at Zielence and Dubienka. In the latter engagement he, together with 4,000 Poles, held out for five days against 18,000 of the enemy. But the work of the patriot was undone by the inaction of the Sovereign in whom his people had put their trust. The inertness of Stanislas brought upon him and the country complete defeat, and within six weeks of their invasion the Russians held the whole kingdom in their grip.

The danger of a fresh partition was avoided by the King's submission to the Confederation of Targowice. He was now reduced to a cypher, and his kingdom was temporarily governed by a convention under the leadership of Felix Potocki. There is no doubt that Catherine's success would have been impossible had it not been for the fact that the two Powers of Austria and Prussia were deeply engaged in fighting on behalf of the Bourbons. The aged and long-trusted Austrian minister, Wenzel Anton Kaunitz,* would have done what he could to have prevented Russia's aggression, but, after forty years' service in the principal direction of Austrian politics, he was dismissed from office. Francis II. signed a treaty with Catherine in July, which stated his approval of the restoration of the former Polish Constitution—an action imitated by Frederick William II. on August 7th. It is a noticeable fact that in neither of these documents is there any mention of partition. But it is evident that partition and nothing else was at the back of the minds of these robbers. Austria and Prussia, partly for their own preservation, partly from duty, and partly from chivalry, had engaged in a bloody, somewhat disastrous, and expensive war on behalf of the downtrodden House of Bourbon. According to the traditions of eighteenth century diplomacy, such an engagement could not continue without distinct remuneration. It was impossible to ask Louis XVI. for a return for their support; to have done so would have rendered his cause more unpopular than before. Where,

* Wenzel Anton, Prince von Kaunitz (1711–1794); distinguished at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle 1748; ambassador to France 1750–1752; chancellor of Austria 1753.

then, was the territorial gain to be obtained? It was on this question that the two Powers wrangled during the latter part of 1792. Prussia's proposal was very clever. Frederick William told Francis that if he would agree to Prussia's seizure of a large slice of Poland then Prussia would in no way object if Francis cared to exchange the Netherlands for Bavaria. The generosity of the offer did not appeal to Francis, for he saw at once that an exchange was no gain of fresh territory, and he need hardly have reminded the Prussian King that the Elector of Bavaria might not be so willing to make the exchange as was supposed. In compensation the Austrians demanded from Prussia the cession of Ansbach and Baireuth—a demand which sent Berlin into hysterics of fury. Before any conclusion had been reached the question assumed a very different aspect. Dumouriez after his victory at Jemappes had deprived Francis II. of the power of exchanging the Netherlands, for they had, by conquest, passed into the hands of the Revolutionary French. It was quite impossible for Austria to retire from the war without making an attempt to recover her dependency. This was not the case, however, with regard to Prussia. Frederick William therefore took the opportunity of informing the Austrian ministers that if they did not fall into line with his agreements he would withdraw his armies. Austria was at a disadvantage, and on December 19th the Emperor very grudgingly agreed that Russia and Prussia should negotiate a settlement of the Polish question. For all this, Austria did not abandon what she regarded as her rights, and, although incapable of enforcing her wishes, she still declared that she had claims on part of the unhappy kingdom of Poland.

The squabbles of the two Powers had caused Catherine II. no little satisfaction, and, being perfectly conversant with the state of affairs, she readily met the demands of the Prussian King with increased demands of her own. On January 23rd, 1793, the Treaty of Partition was signed. Prussia was at last to be allowed to take possession of Dantzig, Thorn, Posen and the remainder of Great Poland; while Catherine acquired Eastern Poland as far as the centre of Volhynia and Lithuania. The confederates of Targowice were incensed at the action of Prussia and staggered that Russia should have been an accomplice. Austria learnt that she, too,

had been betrayed. To the astonishment, fear, and wrath of the Emperor, he found that the immense gains of Russia had swallowed all that portion of Poland that had so long acted as a buffer State between the two great nations, and that now Russian territory was contiguous to Austrian frontiers. The infuriated Francis II. seized the opportunity of dismissing Philip Cobenzl * and Spielmann, who had concluded the negotiations with Haugwitz. In their place he raised to power Thugut, who from this time conducted Austrian foreign affairs.

The Russians now took Poland in hand, and on June 17th a sham Diet met at Grodno. To the surprise of the Czarina the members exhibited most unexpected opposition to her desires. They appealed to the two Powers to act with generosity. They turned to Sievers, the Russian plenipotentiary, hoping that he would influence Catherine and persuade her to act with magnanimity in this, their hour of trouble. With regard to Prussia they assumed a more courageous attitude, and demanded from Buchholz, the ambassador of Frederick William, that the Prussians should at once evacuate Polish soil. The answer they received from Sievers was most disheartening, for on July 16th, after vainly attempting to intimidate its members, the Russians informed the Diet that if it did not at once proceed to the business in hand Russia would regard it as contumacious and there would be a renewal of the war. Fearing that such an outburst would be still more disastrous, the Diet was forced on July 23rd to make a treaty with the conqueror, by which Russia obtained legal possession of her provinces. The submission to Russian demands encouraged Stanislas in his attitude towards Prussia, and a week after the treaty, hoping to be supported by the Czarina, the King of Poland again insisted that the Prussians should retire. At the beginning of September a treaty was proposed by which the Prussian territory should be more closely confined. This, however, did not suit Buchholz, who answered the proposition with a counterclaim that the Prussian terms should be at once accepted. These waverings on the part of Prussia and Poland naturally kept Frederick William on tenter-hooks, and produced a most unsatisfactory campaign against the French. Had a definite decision been made at

* Philip Cobenzl (1741–1810).

Grodno the Prussian and Austrian forces might have made more successful warfare against the principles of the Revolution. As it was, neither country did its best, and the ministers of Prussia and Austria spent their time in useless recriminations. By the end of the month of September Frederick William thought that it would be better if he proceeded to Poland in person, for Catherine II. had placed Prussia in such a position that it was almost dependent upon Russia for anything that it might obtain. Before Frederick William's advent Catherine changed her plans, and ordered Sievers to coerce the Diet into an acceptance of Prussian terms. Thus on September 25th, in an assembly "as mute as fish," domineered by the heavy hand of Russia, the treaty was signed.

The Diet of Grodno collapsed, and on November 23rd it came to an end. The behests of Russia had been obeyed, and the mutilated territory was deprived of the Constitution of May 3rd, and what was left of the once famous kingdom of Poland fell back into the ancient slough of weakness, incapacity and despondency. Poland had indeed fallen into a miserable state, and worse soon followed. Sievers was replaced by the notoriously insolent and brutal Ingelström. The Constitution had promised much; it had gained nothing. Military despotism of the worst type was now the rule under which the unhappy Poles were crushed. It was only natural that as the outcome of this harsh *régime*, secret societies were formed on all sides. Thaddeus Kosciusko, with many other patriots, sought refuge in Saxony, and there began to hatch innumerable plots for the restoration of Polish freedom. Their plans, however, met with little response. Certainly the French were most friendly disposed towards them, and would welcome any rising of the nation against the power of autocrats; but Poland was far away, and Napoleon had not yet risen to that exalted position in which he taught French armies to rush from one end of Europe to the other. Sweden, too, was naturally friendly. But the Swedish King knew, and the Polish patriots learnt to understand, that Sweden was incapable of attacking the combined forces of Russia and Prussia. Had Turkey been in the position that she had once proudly held then Poland might have found an ally among the very descendants of those who had a hundred years before

fled before Sobieski. Nor was it of any avail for the Poles to remember that Vienna had indeed once been saved by their gallant King. Vienna had long forgotten the obligation, and Thugut made them clearly understand that if he interfered at all it would only be to obtain a partition in which Austria was included.

Kosciusko and his friends felt that the fates were against them and that their only policy was to wait. But events in Poland made delay impossible. Internal affairs hastened on what a more thoughtful policy would have postponed. The growing unrest had not been confined to the exiles. A committee at Warsaw controlled a network of secret societies, which had adherents in all ranks. Ingelström, the commander of the army of occupation, was aware of the disaffection, but there were no traitors to supply evidence. He determined to disarm the Polish troops, a measure which precipitated the rebellion. The brigade of Madalinski mutinied and refused to disarm. Kosciusko again came forward at his country's need and was proclaimed commander-in-chief. The Constitution of 1791 was renewed and an appeal issued to the nation. The whole movement had been one of great rapidity, and his acceptance of the leadership of the army on March 24th was a practical declaration of war against Poland's two oppressors, Russia and Prussia. The challenge was quickly accepted by the Czarina, and on April 4th the Poles and Russians again met at Raslawice. Here Kosciusko was successful, and the insurgents were correspondingly encouraged. Ingelström, fearing that the revolt would spread, tried to disarm the soldiers in Warsaw, but was met with refusal. The soldiery soon had the city in their own hands, and in less than a fortnight the hated Russian ruler had been forced to evacuate the capital. Kosciusko was at once made dictator, and the war continued. On April 23rd the people of Wilna, in Lithuania, rose against their oppressors, and it was thought that at last Poland might throw off the insupportable burden.

At this time Prussia was in a somewhat exhausted condition after two years' fighting without any appreciable gain. Frederick William had, however, entered into a treaty at The Hague with Lord Malmesbury, by which a large

body of Prussians were to attack France under the King. Events in Poland made this treaty so much waste-paper. The King of Prussia was far more interested in gaining territory in the East than in suppressing intangible principles in the West. He feared that he might not only lose the possessions he had gained, but that Austria might seize the opportunity of obtaining more. In May the King turned his back on France and concentrated his attention upon Poland, sending as many men as he could to the war, and following himself in June. Great Britain, realizing that he had repudiated the treaty, immediately withdrew the subsidies that had been promised in exchange for the Prussian army; but to Frederick William Polish territory was worth many subsidies.

Catherine II. had been taken by surprise. It is evident that she had regarded the ashes of disaffection as stamped out, for she would not have renewed her aggression against Turkey had she believed that there was the least spark that might rekindle a Polish blaze. The military mutinies showed her that she had misjudged the recuperative powers of Poland, and she was obliged to alter her schemes and concentrate her forces upon the revolted kingdom. The Austrian interests were no less centred upon Poland than those of the other two northern powers. It was indeed because Thugut showed so much more inclination towards Polish affairs, following the example of Frederick William, that the French had one of the most extraordinarily successful years in military conquest; and, as has already been shown, the quarrels of the Allies, together with Polish politics, made the Revolutionists successful at home and abroad through the year 1794.

Sentiment has generally been found to be on the side of the Poles. As a witty Frenchman once said, "Poland was a country to die for, but not to live in." That wonderful readiness of the Poles to lay down their lives has on many occasions won them the sympathy, though not the assistance, of all nations except Russia, Prussia, and Austria. And yet, though the Poles have always shown a willingness to die for their country's freedom, Poland could not succeed in winning her ancient liberties. The patriot Kosciusko was certainly a gifted man, but he was unpopular with the nobility, for he was

regarded as a democrat; whilst the democracy mistrusted him for his connection with the aristocracy. He had unfortunately no real army that could oppose the disciplined forces of Prussia or the dashing warriors of Russia. The question of the emancipation of the peasants pressed for an answer, and Kosciusko had great difficulty in avoiding offence taken to the peasants or the military classes. The people of Warsaw were well aware of the marvellous world-shaking revolution that was threatening the collapse of the old rules and methods of society, and many of them were stirred with a feverish anxiety to adopt the methods of the Parisian revolutionaries. Kosciusko had indeed hard material upon which to work, for there was a hatred of subordination; discipline was an unknown quality, and he was obliged to use severe measures.

Kosciusko met his first military reverse on June 1st at Rawka, and was forced to retreat to Warsaw. On June 15th Cracow was taken by the Prussians. Frederick William had arrived at the capital on July 2nd, and ought to have stormed the city at once, but instead of doing so he sat down to a lengthy siege. For two months the city was beleagured, when suddenly on September 6th he was called away owing to rebellions in the provinces. In the meantime Wilna had capitulated to the Russians on August 1st, and Suvorof was sent forward against the Polish insurgents. This man was the greatest general that Russia had produced. He moved with remarkable rapidity, and, as he moved, he cut down the Polish forces on every side. At the beginning of October Fersen, with a large force of Russian troops, received orders to amalgamate with Suvorof's army and combine to crush Kosciusko. That leader, however, determined to fall upon Fersen before he could reach the Russian commander-in-chief. The Poles met Fersen on October 10th, and Kosciusko was utterly defeated at Maciejowice. He had fought with great courage, but, covered with wounds, he was captured by his enemies. It was at this moment, according to Segur's version, which, however, has no foundation, that he cried "*Finis Poloniæ!*" The story of the revolt practically ended with the capture of the great patriot. General Wawrzechi was placed in command of the rebels, but he was no fitting successor of their late leader. On November 8th, after a desperate struggle

and terrible bloodshed, Suvorof defeated Zajaczek * and entered Warsaw. The freedom of Poland was at an end. The struggle had for its fruits only more terrible disasters than had already fallen upon that kingdom.

Frederick William of Prussia had preferred to waste his time. He had let the golden opportunity slip, and had failed to seize Warsaw. Had he been successful in July the Russians would not have been able to claim the suppression of the revolt. As it was it was again made possible for Catherine II. to dictate the terms that were to decide the fate of the Polish kingdom. Austria, too, had again been left behind in the race for territory. Thugut had dispatched 15,000 men to assist in the suppression and win a portion of the perquisites ; but this army had only reached Lublin and had taken no part whatever in the struggle. Thus on January 3rd, 1795, Russia could claim the largest share in the partition, which was then arranged without the knowledge of Prussia. The Russian frontier was to be from Galicia along the Bug to Brzesc. The line then passed to Grodno and along the Niemen to East Prussia. Austria claimed as her share Cracow, Sandomir, and the district that lies between the Pilica, Vistula, and Bug. The two powers decided that if Prussia would fall in with this arrangement Frederick William was to receive the residue of Poland. Catherine II. was also willing to enter into a secret agreement proposed by Thugut. She had the power of grasping any rapid change of circumstance. To her Prussia had been the most satisfactory of allies as long as she was engaged in the seizure of Poland. But since Poland was now crushed, and there was no fear of her revival, Catherine immediately turned her attention to her old foe in the south. Austria had been of no value to Russia up to this moment, but if the dominions of the Sultan were to follow those of Poland, Austria would be the only possible ally and Prussia's friendship would be worthless. So Catherine accepted Thugut's secret scheme for the partitioning of Turkey, in exchange for which Russia was to support Austria in any possible war with Prussia, and to assist her to secure compensation in France or Italy.

It was not till long after the Treaty of Basle with France

* Josef Zajaczek (1752–1826).

on April 5th—in fact, not until the second week of August—that Frederick William learnt the exact arrangement which had been made between Austria and Russia. To go to war was impossible, for he was isolated in Europe, and the only thing to be done was for Tauenzien to confer with Count Ostermann * and Cobenzl. This led to a revised scheme of partition, which was brought forward in October. It was then decided that Russia should keep what she had got, but that Austria should resign a small piece of her gains that lay between the Vistula, the Bug, and the Narew. A month later, on November 25th, Stanislas Poniatowski made his formal abdication, and died in St. Petersburg some two years later. The quarrels between Austria and Prussia still continued, for no agreement could be reached as to the exact delimitation of their respective boundaries. Catherine, satisfied with her own portion, spent the last few months of her life endeavouring to bring about a solution. She died on November 16th, 1796, seeing that she had failed to bring the two Powers to terms. But on January 26th, 1797, the final treaty was signed, and the three Powers agreed not to do anything that would recall the memory of the kingdom of Poland.

The brilliant Czarina, Catherine II., was succeeded by Paul, who was disposed to treat the Poles with kindness. He marked the first year of his reign by liberating Kosciusko, who found an asylum in Switzerland, where he died in 1817. A large number of Poles felt that now they had no fatherland. Residence in their ancient homes was no longer bearable. Many emigrated, and the most high-spirited took service in the French army, in which Joseph Poniatowski † distinguished himself as a general under Napoleon. It had been a long-cherished hope amongst these emigrants that something might be obtained from the great European struggle ; but when they found that in the Treaties of Lunèville and Amiens they obtained nothing they returned to their native land and readily accepted the amnesty. Those portions of Poland

* A. J. Ostermann-Tolstoi (1770–1837).

† Joseph Antony Poniatowski (1762–1813) ; fought on behalf of Austria against Russia in 1792 ; followed Kosciusko 1794 ; minister of war for the Duchy of Warsaw 1807 ; invaded Galicia 1809 ; distinguished himself at Smolensk and Borodino 1812, and at Leipzig 1813.

which were under the rule of Austria or Prussia found that it was the policy of their new sovereigns to make them German subjects in every sense. Russian Poland, on the other hand, found Alexander I. more sympathetic, as was evidenced by his gift of privileges to the University of Wilna in 1803.

The ascendancy of Napoleon revived the hopes of many Polish patriots. When he had made himself apparently all-powerful after Jena, Poland began to stir again. Napoleon, however, had no real feeling for the Poles, and in 1808, when he took from Prussia part of her Polish possessions, such as Posen, Kaliz, Plock, Warsaw, Lonza, and Bydgoszez, it was only to re-create them into the Grand Duchy of Warsaw for his own purposes. Four years later the Duchy was enlarged by the incorporation of Sandomir, Lublin, and other cities, though Alexander did his best to prevent Napoleon's action. When he made his attack on Russia in 1812 no less than 60,000 able-bodied Poles joined his forces, with the hope that he would restore their country's independence. Their confidence was misplaced, and they were coldly informed, "I have guaranteed to the Emperor of Austria the integrity of his dominions, and I cannot sanction any manœuvre or any movement that tends to trouble the quiet possession of what remains to him of the provinces of Poland."

The Congress of Vienna resettled the Polish question. For some time it was one of the chief difficulties. Alexander was bent on making the Grand Duchy of Warsaw a dependency of Russia. By the Convention of Kalisch on February 28th, 1813, Prussia had agreed to this in exchange for compensation. Her statesmen aimed at incorporating Saxony, but this met with vehement opposition from France, Austria, and England. War seemed imminent, but negotiations were resumed and a settlement was reached in February, 1815. Austria was now to have, as in the past, the province of Galicia and the salt mines of Wieliczka, but she was obliged to resign Tarnopol, which she had already lost to Russia in 1809. Prussia obtained Posen and was allowed to keep those districts which had been granted in the first partition. It was declared necessary for both Austria and Prussia to guarantee national representation and autonomous govern-

ment. Cracow was to form an independent State. Russia obtained all the rest as a constitutional kingdom subject to the Czar. Large slice though this was, Alexander had had even greater designs, but they had been successfully thwarted by Castlereagh. During the Congress, Prince Adam Czartoryski played such a part that the English Foreign Minister wrote to Lord Liverpool that the Prince "although not in any official situation appears now the actual Russian minister, at least in Polish and Saxon questions." Czartoryski was to have been the viceroy under the new Constitution, but he incurred the displeasure of Alexander before the settlement was complete.

The Polish Constitution was, in many ways, liberal and progressive. The country was to be governed by responsible ministers, a senate, and a chamber of deputies. It was to have a national flag, national army, and national budget. The Press was to be free, and personal liberty was to remain unassailed. There was no attack upon the Polish language, and it was to remain the language of the country even in official affairs. The Roman Catholic faith was to have no special privileges, but was to be equal with all other beliefs. The only intolerant clause was that which excluded the Jews from the exercise of all civil functions. The Grand Duke Constantine was made commander-in-chief, and General Zajacznek viceroy. The new era seemed to be auspiciously opened. But the Constitution had contained language of great and dangerous vagueness in reference to some of the most important of individual liberties. In a few years a censorship of journals was decreed and repression began again.

THE
PARTITIONS OF POLAND
Acquisitions of Russia
" " Prussia
" " Austria
English Miles
0 50 100 150 200
BALTIC SEA
Riga
R. Dwina
1772
Smolensk
Danzig
1793
KINGDOM
OF
PRUSSIA
Wilna
Grodno
1772
1795
Thorn
1793
1795
1793
R. Dnieper
Warsaw
1793
1795
Lublin
Sandomir
Kiev
Cracow
Lemberg
1772
R. Dnieper
R. Bug
R. Pruth
R. Dniester
15°
20°
25°
30°
35°
55°
50°
Bartholomew, Edin.

NOTES AND DIAGRAMS

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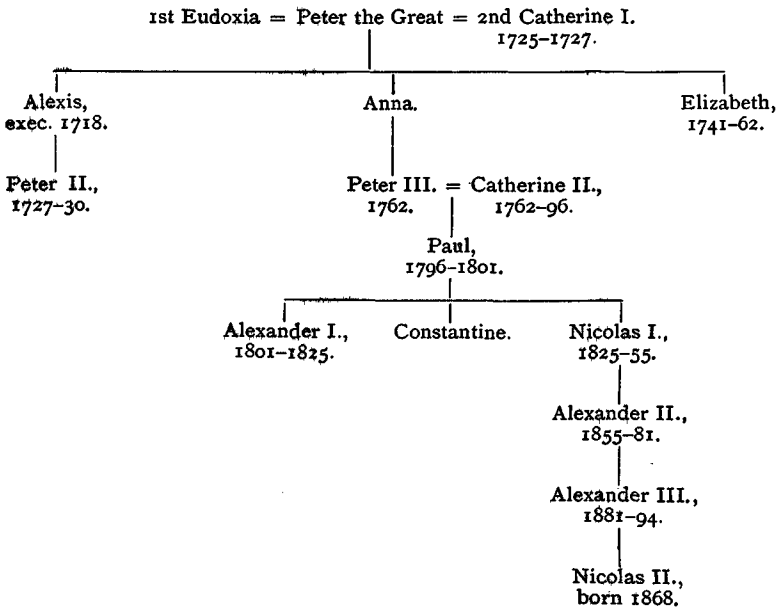
PEDIGREE OF THE HOUSE OF ROMANOV



CHAPTER VIII

THE RESETTLEMENT OF EUROPE AND THE PERIOD OF CONGRESSES

1814–1824

CONTEMPORARY RULERS OF THE MOST IMPORTANT NATIONS

Date.	*Great Britain.*	*Austria.*	*France.*	*Spain.*	*Prussia.*	*Russia.*	*Denmark.*	*Sweden.*	*Popes*
1815.	George III. (since 1760).	Francis II. (since 1792).	Louis XVIII. (since 1814).	Ferdinand VII. (since 1808).	Fred. William III. (since 1797).	Alexander I. (since 1801).	Frederick VI. (since 1808).	Charles XIII. (since 1809).	Pius VII. (since 1800),
1818.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Charles XIV.	
1820.	George IV.								
1823.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Leo XII.
1824.	...	...	Charles X.						
1825.	...	...	...	...	...	Nicholas I.			

FOR many years the course of European history had depended upon a single personality. If Napoleon did not act himself, the fear or the hatred of him, or the hope of his favour, had spurred others to action. When, in April, 1814, he abdicated at Fontainebleau, the control of the Continent passed to his conquerors. In the face of the common danger they had forgotten, or laid aside, many of their selfish antagonisms, and, though often deflected by national or dynastic interests, the kings and statesmen were pledged and concerned, to a degree without precedent at similar conferences, to establish peace in Europe on stable foundations. It was their immediate task to establish order out of the chaos into which the Continent had been plunged by the breakdown of the Napoleonic system ; to assign governments to a great area of territories in Germany, Italy, Poland and the Netherlands ; to dispose, as the Statistical Committee reckoned, of nearly thirty-two millions of "souls." Enlightened opinion had sketched out for the Congress a far more ambitious programme : a permanent settlement of the equilibrium, the discovery of safeguards against its disturb-

ance in the future, tentative disarmament, the abolition of the slave trade, and the solution of other problems of universal interest. Their expectations were not fulfilled. The plenipotentiaries at Vienna were still, in spite of their greater seriousness, the representatives of the older Europe which had suffered eclipse and now reappeared with many new resolutions, but with memories also of the balance of power and the days of territorial rivalry.

The boundaries of France, which, with some exceptions, remained as they were in 1792, were fixed at the Treaty of Paris in May, 1814. But the general resettlement of Europe was reserved for the Congress, which was appointed to meet at Vienna in August. Its opening was, however, deferred until September, and its members were not, in fact, ready to commence their labours until October had begun. Chief among the sovereigns attending the Congress in person were Alexander, Czar of Russia; Francis, Emperor of Austria; Frederick William III., King of Prussia; Frederick VI., King of Denmark; Maximilian Joseph, King of Bavaria, and Frederick I., King of Würtemberg. England was served by Castlereagh, and, after his departure, by Wellington. Russia's most influential plenipotentiary was Count Nesselrode; Prussia's representatives were Prince von Hardenberg and Count Wilhelm von Humboldt. Prince Metternich, Austria's first plenipotentiary, occupied an unique position among European statesmen, and was fortunate in possessing in Gentz, the Secretary of the Congress, a trusted lieutenant.

The Congress was preceded by a trial of strength. The Four Allies issued, on September 22nd, a declaration of their proposed course of action. A committee, consisting of their own first representatives and those of France and Spain, was to prepare all matters of general interest for the consideration of the Congress. But from this scheme was excepted the distribution of the chief territories at the disposal of the Powers; this they reserved for their private consideration. Talleyrand protested against the exclusion of France, and rallied the lesser Powers to resist the encroachment on their rights with such success that the committee, as finally composed, included the representatives of France, Sweden, Spain and Portugal, as well as those of Russia, Austria, Prussia and England. There was no formal ceremony of inaugura-

tion, but early in November the plenipotentiaries settled down to their task, which was to detain them until June of the following year.

The fate of Poland was the most controversial of the questions which the Congress was called upon to decide. Intimately connected with it was the problem of the kingdom of Saxony, which was generally considered to have been forfeited by the persistent loyalty of its sovereign, Frederick Augustus, to Napoleon. Almost equally important was the future of Germany and the organization of the German States. Besides this the Congress had to decide the fate of Italy and of the Netherlands; to consider the claims raised by the plenipotentiaries of Sweden, Spain and other States; to provide some form of organization for the Swiss cantons, and to take measures of security against the disturbance of the peace of Europe by France in the future. The representatives of Great Britain raised the question of the Slave Trade, and there was a strong body of public opinion which demanded the setting up of some tribunal, or scheme of arbitration, which should diminish the risk of war.

In dealing with Polish and Saxon questions, the Congress had to take into consideration the pledges already interchanged on these subjects by some of the Allies. At the convention of Kalisch, Russia and Prussia had made a definite bargain: Prussia was to be restored to a position equivalent to that which she had occupied previous to the war of 1806, and, in exchange for this, she resigned the greater part of her claims on Poland in favour of Russia. When Austria joined the alliance at Reichenbach on June 27th, 1813, it was agreed that the Duchy of Warsaw (representing the ancient kingdom of Poland), should be shared between the three Powers. The former understanding, however, still subsisted between Russia and Prussia. Alexander was urged, alike by his dream of re-erecting the kingdom of Poland under his suzerainty, and by the traditional Russian policy of encroachment, to interpret the agreement at Kalisch as a guarantee of the whole of Poland to Russia. Prussia was prepared to agree, on condition that she should be compensated by the cession of Saxony. At first it seemed unlikely that these claims would be effectively disputed. Metternich was equally afraid of Russian encroach-

ments on the East and of the absorption of Saxony by Prussia, which would have exposed Austria all along her northern frontier; but Castlereagh was disposed to agree to the Prussian claim in order to gain her support in moderating the Czar's demands. But Alexander's distrust of Metternich made negotiations difficult, and the population of Saxony showed a devoted loyalty to the monarch whom it was proposed to dispossess. Talleyrand seized the opportunity to widen the rift, and by the beginning of the new year the Powers had drifted far apart. A triple alliance was concluded on January 3rd, 1815, between Great Britain, Austria and France, in which the outbreak of war was actually contemplated. It was then that the lesson of the Napoleonic wars bore fruit; within a few days negotiations had been renewed in a more conciliatory spirit, and early in February the Powers came to an agreement which was accepted by Frederick Augustus on April 6th. By it Prussia received rather less than half Saxony, while the remainder was restored to its former sovereign. On the Polish frontier she was content with portions of the departments of Posen and Kalisch, together with the town of Thorn. Austria was confirmed in the possession of her former share of Galicia. The remainder of Poland fell to Alexander, with the exception of Cracow, which was erected into an independent and neutral republic.

The territorial settlement of Germany gave Prussia additional compensation. She was confirmed in all her possessions between the Elbe, the Weser, and the Rhine; by the cession of the Duchy of Westphalia, with neighbouring territories, Julich, Berg, and parts of Cologne, Trier, Luxemburg and Limburg, she was established as the guardian of Germany on the western frontier; and her possessions were connected by two military roads. On the north Swedish Pomerania was ceded to her by Denmark in exchange for Lauenburg. She was, however, cut off from the North Sea by the loss of East Friesland, which, together with the principality of Hildesheim, was handed over to Hanover in compensation for Lauenburg. In the south of Germany Austria recovered Tyrol, Salzburg and the Inn Quarter from Bavaria, which was compensated by receiving Würzburg,

Aschaffenburg, and, by a supplementary treaty, a separate territory on the left bank of the Rhine. As an additional bulwark upon the western frontier, the Grand Duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt was given territories on either bank of the Rhine. With the same object the former possessions of Austria in the Netherlands were united with Holland under the rule of William of Orange, who also received the remainder of Luxemburg in exchange for the hereditary possessions of the House of Orange, now ceded to Prussia. The cities of Luxemburg, Landau and Mainz were constituted federal fortresses. Further south again the kingdom of Sardinia, in its quality of buffer State, was allowed to absorb the republic of Genoa, together with the greater part of Savoy.

In Italy and on the Adriatic, Austria received ample compensation for the moderation of her claims in Germany. Besides the provinces of Lombardy and Venetia, which were annexed in April, 1815, she recovered the districts of Illyria and Dalmatia; Tuscany was restored to Ferdinand, the brother of the Emperor; Modena was given to a Hapsburg prince, Duke Francis IV., heir of the house of Este; Parma to another Hapsburg, Marie Louise, the wife of Napoleon. The Duchy of Lucca was assigned to the Infanta Maria Louise, the late Queen of Etruria, and her son, Charles Louis, representatives of the Spanish Bourbons. Naples had been unwisely guaranteed to Murat by Metternich in the treaty of January 11th, 1814, but Austria was saved from the consequences of this false step by Murat's manifesto and his invasion of the Papal States. Austrian troops occupied Naples, and Ferdinand was restored to the throne, as King of the Two Sicilies. The Papal States were restored to Rome, and Pius VII., though he formally protested against the loss of Avignon and the occupation of Ferrara by Austria, suffered little in respect to his temporal possessions. More serious was the transference of the Catholic inhabitants of Germany and the Netherlands to the Protestant sovereigns of the houses of Hohenzollern and Orange.

The fate of Switzerland was settled by a special committee. The difficulty was enhanced by the traditional animosities of the cantons, but the Powers were able to

handle it with unusual success, because they were themselves less disturbed by considerations of personal interest. A preliminary settlement was agreed upon in March, 1815, and the neutrality of Switzerland was guaranteed on November 20th. Three new cantons, Valais, Geneva, and Neufchatel, were added, and the whole was bound together in a loose federal association.

The Congress had from the first accepted the obligation to provide some constitutional framework for the States of Germany. There was no serious intention of reviving the Holy Roman Empire in any form; and, though Stein was in favour of uniting Germany under the supremacy of a single Power, neither Prussia nor Austria showed any decided ambition to assume the leadership; rather each was bent on safeguarding its interests against possible encroachments by the other. Preliminary deliberations were assigned to a committee consisting exclusively of German States, and the subject was thus preserved from the disturbing influence exercised by Talleyrand elsewhere. Negotiations began in March, 1814, and proceeded throughout the year. The committee held its first sitting in October, and Metternich laid before it a draft of twelve articles based on the proposals of the Prussian representatives. Bavaria and Würtemberg, however, objected to a scheme which subjected them to a Federal authority, in which the two leading Powers had so great a preponderance, while the lesser princes claimed admission to the committee in order to safeguard their rights against the smaller sovereign States. The sittings of the committee were adjourned for five months. The air was full of conflicting proposals; the greater Powers were at variance on the crucial questions of Poland and Saxony, and were not in a position to enforce a settlement. It was not till February, 1815, when their private differences had been adjusted, that the Germany Constitution once more began to make progress. In a series of conferences extending from May till June the Federal Act was elaborated. On June 8th it was signed by representatives of all the German Governments except Bavaria and Würtemberg, which resisted for a short time longer. The Act provided for a Diet of seventeen votes, presided over by Austria, and an

Assembly of sixty-nine votes, to deal with questions of organic change. The members might not enter into alliance with a foreign Power either against the Confederation or fellow-members. In the final draft no Federal Judicature was provided. The Constitution thus outlined was to be placed under the guarantee of Europe.

On June 9th, the day following that on which the Federal Act had been accepted, the Final Act of the Congress was signed by the representatives of seven out of the eight Powers. Spain remained obdurate, partly because the claims of the Spanish house had not been satisfied in Italy, partly because she was unwilling to restore Olivença to Portugal. The Act did not contain any reference to questions of International arbitration or the Slave Trade, though the declaration of the Powers, in which its abolition was promised in general terms, was printed as an appendix. Nor was any mention made of the two groups of problems connected with the East and with the fate of the South American colonies which had revolted from Spain during the Napoleonic period. These omissions had important consequences, but it is not wonderful that the plenipotentiaries, impressed by the scope of their task, should have refused to include remoter considerations.

Before reviewing the work of the Congress, mention must be made of the second Treaty of Paris, which was signed on November 20th, after the second abdication of Napoleon. By it some concessions of territory were made to the Netherlands and Prussia, and Landau and Mainz, besides Luxemburg, were constituted federal fortresses. An indemnity of seven hundred millions of francs was exacted, and an army of the Allies was to be maintained on the northern frontier for five years. France retained very nearly the boundaries of 1790, and was indeed stronger in virtue of the greater compactness of her territories. Of her colonial possessions only Guiana was mentioned in the Act, but Great Britain had already restored Guadeloupe and Martinique.

Great Britain herself showed a remarkable — Napoleon thought a mistaken—modesty in her demands, considering the share which she had taken in the preceding campaigns. To Holland she restored her East Indian possessions, re-

taining only Ceylon. She kept Demerara and Cape Colony, and, in Europe, Heligoland, Malta, and a protectorate over the Ionian Islands. Actually she was tacitly conceded the most important of all advantages. In their restoration of the general equilibrium, the plenipotentiaries made no attempt to restore that balance of maritime supremacy which had been the motive of the great naval struggles of the eighteenth and earlier centuries. In commerce, on the seas and beyond them, Great Britain held a position which could not be improved by the decisions of a European Congress.

Of the other Powers, Prussia suffered a most remarkable transformation. She gained little in population by the terms of the Final Act, and actually lost in the area of her territory as compared with 1805; was deprived of her former outlet on the North Sea; failed in the cherished project of her diplomacy, the acquisition of the Saxon kingdom; received, in compensation, an incoherent medley of territories. Yet the Congress laid the foundations on which Bismarck was to build. Austria, of her own accord, withdrew from the hegemony of Germany, though Metternich might pose as the arbiter of Central Europe. With a population now preponderantly German, Prussia was invited to lay aside the traditions of Frederick the Great, and to assume the guardianship of Germany on her western frontier. More than this, her fiscal policy, one of the most powerful cohesive forces of the nineteenth century, depended for its efficacy upon the way in which Prussian territories had been distributed in 1815.

Austria, on the other hand, had concentrated her attention upon her southern frontiers. In compensation for the moderation of her demands in Germany, she resumed her control over Northern Italy and secured important outlets on the Adriatic Sea. Additions to her territory, chiefly on this side, gave her a large increase of population, while the honours of the diplomatic tournament may be said to have rested with her representative, Count Metternich. Only one danger threatened. In spite of his efforts the Austrian Emperor had not rid himself of the traditions of the Hapsburgs, and it was inevitable that Austria should still play a part in German politics. But she had deli-

berately stepped aside and allowed the headship of the German race to pass from her by default. The honour which she refused was in time to be assumed by her rival in the north.

The Czar of Russia, upon a general review of the negotiations, might well be satisfied with the part which he had played. True, the final solution of the Polish and Saxon difficulties had left some of his hopes unrealized. But there remained a compact remnant of the ancient Polish kingdom on which to test his benevolent designs. As the descendant of Peter the Great and Catherine II., he could point to substantial additions to Russian territory—to Finland on the north, and to slices of Persian provinces on the south. As the pupil of La Harpe and the patron of Liberal idealism, he might pride himself on his successful resistance to the designs of German diplomatists on the French frontiers at the time of the second Treaty of Paris. It would have been hard to convince him that, in fitting the methods traditional in his house to the political theory of the new age, he was sowing the wind.

In the settlement at Vienna the allies seem to have borne in mind a few simple principles. The champions who had wrested Europe from Napoleon had been rewarded. Precaution had been taken against a repetition of the outrage by redistributing the territories on the eastern frontier of France. A working agreement about boundaries and sovereign rights had been negotiated, so as to give the nations of Europe the advantage of a tranquil convalescence. In these designs the allies must be acknowledged to have succeeded. France was neither crushed by a penalty greater than she could bear, nor left at liberty to strike panic through Europe again, though the "natural frontier" of which she had been deprived on the north-east remained an ideal, dangerously associated with the name of liberty. The rearrangement of the patchwork of territories and the settlement of the problems of sovereignty, though not permanent, were followed by five years of European peace, such as had not been since France declared war against the Allies in 1792.

In the bulk of the work which they accomplished the diplomatists were supported by the general desire for peace

which emerged as the one sure moral lesson taught by Napoleon to Europe. It remains to ask whether they would have had a sanction for the wider programme of reforms which, with a few exceptions, they refused to undertake.

The national spirit, which had been aroused in almost every instance where Napoleon's inroads had been resisted with any success, was overlooked or neglected by the Final Act. In the union of Norway and Sweden it was sacrificed to recompense Bernadotte, a member of the coalition against Napoleon. Holland and the Southern Netherlands, separated by differences in history, religion and language, interests and sentiment, were bound together, in the interests of Europe, into a single buffer State. In Germany the rivalries of courts, great and small, were allowed to thwart the enthusiasm for a Federal link which should unite instead of paralysing. Italy was deliberately handed back to the disintegrating forces—foreign masters and the temporal sovereignty of the Pope. Poland became the plaything of Alexander. The republic of Genoa disappeared in the kingdom of Sardinia.

Of projects more remote from the official programme of the Congress, that of the Slave Trade was shelved with a general formula appended to the Final Act. The hopes of International Peace, raised by the Russian Emperor as long ago as 1814, and cherished by the most enlightened minds in Europe, were not likely to be realized. The Treaty of Chaumont, on which the attitude of the great Powers was based, provided for periodical meetings between the allies for the maintenance of the peace of Europe, and this claim had been, in effect, reiterated at the Treaty of Paris and the renewal of the alliance at Vienna on March 25th, 1815. The peace of Europe was, therefore, to be maintained, not by a tribunal resting upon the consent of the European peoples, but by the vigilant benevolence of their rulers.

The effectiveness of this agreement was not much increased by the famous manifesto of September 26th, 1815. In it Alexander invited the other sovereigns of Europe to adhere to the Christian principles by which he, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Austria had already agreed to regulate their conduct. The invitation was accepted by

almost all, and the compact received the name of The Holy Alliance. It was significant that, while Austria gave an official approval, Metternich privately considered the manifesto "a loud-sounding nothing," if not a part of the Jacobinical machinations of the Czar. The English Government found itself unable to endorse the document officially, though the Prince Regent signified his approval in a private letter. Castlereagh was, no doubt, influenced by the opinions of Metternich, who found in him a congenial ally. He had also, as a corrective to enthusiasm which he scarcely needed, to bear in mind the necessity of justifying his action to the English Parliament. Apart from this, the policy of the manifesto had no place in his practical programme. He aimed at giving a breathing space to the nations of Europe and, in particular, to the English ministry, and was not to be involved in fresh complications by the prospect of giving "a lofty satisfaction to Divine Providence." His attitude was further defined by the amendments which he succeeded in introducing into the original draft of the Treaty of Alliance in November, 1815. Alexander, its inspirer, would have put the French under official patronage. A long record of repressive policy and legislation has recorded indelibly Castlereagh's conviction that the fires of revolution must and could be stamped out. It is certain also that he believed that France might again be the incendiary of Europe. But, while he adhered to the principle of European intervention, he objected to authorizing general interference in the internal affairs of another country, a view which foreshadows the more general principles associated with the name of Canning. In its final shape the treaty of November 20th pledged the Allies, from whose number France was excluded, to remain united "for the happiness of the world" and to meet, from time to time, to decide what would be "most salutary for the peace and prosperity" of the nations of Europe.

Corresponding to the Nationalist feeling, there appeared in many parts of Europe a demand for Constitutional liberties. Of these Alexander had made himself the patron, and expressed the intention of setting an example to his neighbours by granting a Constitution to his dependency of Poland. Similar provision was made in the case of the

new kingdom of the Netherlands; and the Federal Act declared, in guarded language, that the sovereigns of Germany would grant Constitutions in due course to their respective peoples. Elsewhere, constitutional liberties lost ground before Talleyrand's doctrine of Legitimacy, which taught that long tenure gave dynasties a title which could not be set aside; and this principle, while it helped to save the Saxon monarchy from extinction, restored the Bourbons to apathetic subjects in the kingdoms of France and the Two Sicilies.

In vindication of the work of the Congress it may be urged that the Nationalist and Liberal programmes were not widely accepted or supported unanimously in any quarter of Europe. Certainly a fundamental criticism of the settlement must not be based on the state of Europe in 1814 and 1815. On that ground the Congress is secure, and it is the business of statesmen to face present evils and to maintain stability. But it is also their business to anticipate the urgency of great problems and to apply remedies before neglect makes rebels of reformers. The plenipotentiaries acted on the principles which had been current throughout the past century. New forces and ideals, which were to revolutionize politics, were already developing, while the Congress, in which the lesser Powers had no voice, was controlled by diplomatists who did not recognize the change. It was likely, therefore, that its work would become obsolete prematurely.

The first reunion of the Allies, which took place in October, 1818, at Aix-la-Chapelle, was called upon to deal principally with questions raised by the terms of the settlement of 1815 as regards France. At the second restoration the Bourbon monarchy was confronted by difficulties which had only been accentuated by the episode of the Hundred Days. The claim of the Bourbon house to rule rested ultimately on the principle of Legitimacy, which had been formulated by Talleyrand for the express purpose of crystallizing the anti-revolutionary sentiment. On the other hand, Louis XVIII. had formally discarded a great part of the system which was thus restored. The charter, issued in 1814, recognized the political rights of the French nation as secured by the Revolution and retained much of the

machinery of Napoleon's government. Louis represented in his own person a policy of compromise between two extreme systems of political theory and practice. But the nation over which he ruled was not yet within sight of such a compromise. The reactionaries, partisans of the restored orders of Church and Nobility, included intellectuals, whose doctrine went far beyond their onslaughts on the logic of recognizing both the Church and the rights of her despoilers, restoring the nobles and refusing compensation. Ultimately they maintained the futility of all attempts to found a system of government on the principles of the Revolution, however modified. It was necessary to reject free-thought, which finally resolved itself into scepticism, and to take refuge in authority, the natural basis of society and the only sure refuge above the welter of opinion. On the other hand, discredited but unrepentant, stood a remnant of revolutionary and Napoleonic leaders. Between them appeared two groups, which discarded the extreme doctrines of either wing: "Doctrinaries," who accepted the monarchy in its constitutional guise while they prosecuted, in history and philosophy, the search for new principles and generalizations to take the place of the outworn dogmas of the Revolution; Royalists, who were content to accept the compromise as a safeguard of the monarchy. On the acceptance of one of these two views the future of the monarchy depended. It was the task of Louis XVIII. to convert the nation, and, incidentally, to win its confidence; "to royalize France and to nationalize the monarchy." For assistance he had to rely on a coalition of the two central parties. Danger lay in the natural cleavage between Liberals and Royalists inside the coalition. The centrifugal forces increased continually in influence and in voting strength within the Chamber, until the Right Centre sought refuge with the extreme reactionaries, who pressed their claims to the verge of an open rupture. That rupture was deferred until the next reign, when Charles X. had abandoned the effort at conciliation; it was, however, foreshadowed before the death of Louis XVIII. The problem of meeting this danger appeared in the form of a dilemma. Freedom of thought and expression, essential to any permanent reconciliation between the Bourbons and revolu-

tionary France, seemed equally its enemy through the opportunity thus given, in public debate and in the revived Press, for incitements to violence on either side. The nation could not be pacified except by means of free discussion on the tribune and in the Press. And yet it seemed as if liberty must end in anarchy and the uprooting of all established order.

The Chamber met in October, 1816. Qualification for the franchise had been fixed at thirty years of age and three hundred francs in direct taxation, thus limiting the electorate to one hundred thousand; candidates must be forty years old and pay one thousand francs in direct taxation. The elected Chamber numbered 402, and was renewable by fifths yearly. The Upper Chamber contained a majority of Moderates, but the deputies of the Lower Chamber, elected under the influence of the White Terror and the fiasco of the Hundred Days, were overwhelmingly reactionary. As chief minister, Talleyrand gave place to the Duc de Richelieu,* an opponent of the Revolution, but a distinguished patriot, who could say, "I pass every day by the house which belonged to my ancestors. I see their property in other hands, and I behold in museums the treasures which belonged to them. It is a sad sight; but it does not rouse in me feelings either of despair or revenge." Such a spirit was unknown to the majority of the deputies. The session, which lasted from October, 1815, to April, 1816, was occupied in legislation which suspended personal liberty, established special courts and facilities for the work of revenge, repealed the divorce laws, and handed back the control of the central organization of education to the Catholic Church. The resistance of the Ministerial party, supported by the Crown, led to a curious reversal of the natural order of politics. The Ultras, confident in the support of the country, demanded ministerial responsibility and a more democratic electoral law. The moderate Royalists, in the interests of a conciliatory policy, defended the restricted franchise and emphasized the royal prerogative. The victory of the Ultras was only prevented by the resistance of the Upper Chamber. During the summer there were disturbances at Grenoble

* A. E. Duc de Richelieu (1766–1822).

and in other quarters of France. The Allies were alarmed, and it became evident that France could not regain the confidence of Europe, or deserve the withdrawal of the army of occupation, so long as her destinies were confided to the "Chambre introuvable," as it had been named by the King at the moment when all were staggered by the incredibly decisive defeat of the Tricolor party. Richelieu was at length convinced of the urgency of the need for dissolution. On September 5th the Chamber was dissolved, and the ensuing elections gave the ministers a majority of more than forty. The Government, which, first under Richelieu, and, after his resignation on December 21st, 1818, under Decazes,* and Dessolles, controlled France until 1821, advocated moderation, a narrow franchise, and financial retrenchment. The army was reorganized on a mixed system of voluntary service and conscription. The Press Law was repealed in May, 1819, by the influence of Count Hercule de Serre, whose eloquence, tolerance, and foresight combine to make him the greatest of the Restoration statesmen.

In the same year the elections returned a number of members of the Left, among them Grégoire, the author of the proposal to abolish royalty, and a regicide. The King and his advisers determined to secure France against further developments by a change in the electoral law. De Serre proposed to create a Chamber of Hereditary Peers and a Chamber of Deputies with a high property qualification, elected septennially on a franchise which gave a double vote to the wealthy classes. Dessolles resigned, and the reconstructed ministry was further weakened by De Serre's breakdown in health. The electoral reform was pressed forward, but, before it could be introduced, the Duke of Berry was assassinated at the door of the Opera House on February 13th, 1820. Decazes fell, and was replaced by Richelieu, and the freedom of the Press was again restricted. In June the Electoral Law was passed. The Chamber was increased from 258 to 410, and the additional members were to be elected by an indirect method on a high property franchise. The Right, encouraged by the birth of a posthumous son of the Duke of Berry, heir presumptive to the

* Élie, Duc de Decazes (1780–1860); a close friend of Louis XVIII.

throne, increased their majority during the elections of 1821, and in December Richelieu fell and was succeeded by Villèle.*

In 1818, however, it was a prime object of French policy to remove from France the shame of occupation by foreign armies and to secure for her a recognized place in the hierarchy of European Powers. At the conference, which met at Aix-la-Chapelle in the autumn, the first of these objects was secured by the mutual consent of the allied Powers. Satisfactory guarantees were obtained for the payment of the remaining part of the indemnity, and the occupation of French territory by foreign troops ceased at the end of November. The further question of the admission of France to the Alliance of the Powers was less easily decided. Alexander favoured the proposal as a step towards universal alliance; he was supported by Prussia and even by Metternich, who was haunted by the fear of revolution. Great Britain, through her representatives, Castlereagh and Wellington, withstood the proposal, on the principle, formulated at the instance of Canning in the Cabinet's instructions to their representatives, that there should be no confusion between the general principles of goodwill enunciated by the Alliance in September, 1815, and the special provisions of treaties, such as those of Chaumont and Vienna and the Treaty of Alliance, which safeguarded Europe against danger from France. The Alliance was directed against France. To include France was to transform the Alliance into an organization of the Governments of Europe, overtly for no specific object; in effect, to the menace of popular rights and liberties in every country. The final decision of the conference was in this sense. France was allowed to join the other Powers in declaring her intention to maintain general peace, while the proposal to bind the Governments of the greater Powers into a permanent federation was tacitly disclaimed; a secret treaty renewed the Quadruple Alliance to resist possible danger from future disturbances in France. The effect of the English attitude had been to reinforce the principle that the politics of Europe should be regulated by treaties, concluded in the ordinary manner, dealing with specific

* J. R. Comte de Villèle (1773–1854).

objects, and maintained by the ordinary guarantees; not by the edicts of an international High Court, enforced by extraordinary sanctions.

Although the conference of Aix-la-Chapelle did not concern itself officially with German affairs, Metternich took the opportunity to address to the King of Prussia a series of observations on his domestic troubles. In these he recapitulated the sources of danger: the Universities, the Gymnastic Establishments, and the Press. Almost simultaneously the German University system was more openly attacked from another quarter. It had been ominous of the change in Alexander's sentiments that at the conference he had distributed copies of a pamphlet by Stourdsa.* The author predicted a revolution in Germany as the result of the unrestrained licence of the University students. Next came the report—bruited by Kotzebue,† a literary adventurer and Russian spy—that the pamphlet was an official document. It had already been rumoured that Kotzebue was largely responsible for the Czar's defection from Liberalism. On March 23rd he was stabbed to death by Karl Sand,‡ a student of the University of Jena.

The train lay ready for such a spark to kindle. Metternich had long designed to put down the Burschenschaft as well as the Gymnastic Establishments and the free Press. The students' associations, most powerful at Jena, had already earned the hatred of the Conservatives by youthful enthusiasms, effervescing at the Wartburg festival on October 18th, 1817, when after praying and dining the political students made a bonfire of reactionary books and emblems, the pig-tail and the corporal's cane. The Gymnasia, organized by the famous Turnvater Jahn, were, in principle, entirely harmless institutions designed to train up the youth of Germany in manly exercises, patriotism and the simple life. The Liberal Press, whose headquarters were also at Jena, held more real dangers. Attacks upon Metternich and his system and expositions of Liberal and national doctrine, coupled in their minds with affrays in various quarters of Germany, had prepared statesmen and

* Alexander Stourdsa (1788–1854), diplomatist.

† August F. F. von Kotzebue (1761–1819), a voluminous dramatist.

‡ Karl Ludwig Sand (1795–1820), a member of the Burschenschaft; executed.

sovereigns for panic. Striking while the impression was still vivid, Metternich won the Prussian King to his view at a conference at Töplitz in July. He was therefore in a position to meet the Congress, which had been summoned to Carlsbad in the autumn, with confidence and resolution. There was no effective opposition, and Metternich confided to the Diet, now established in favour as a convenient medium of influence, the task of admonishing the sovereigns of Germany to set their houses in order. Journals and pamphlets were to be rigorously censored; the Universities were to be controlled by commissioners; at Mainz an inquisition was to be established to explore the ramifications of the secret societies. The Carlsbad decrees were agreed upon by September 1st, and two months later a conference met at Vienna to supplement the Federal law of the Germanic League. Its general effect was to guarantee the sovereigns of Germany against their subjects. The Diet was charged with the task of maintaining order, which included the supremacy of monarchs over estates or legislatures of any kind. At the same time the centrifugal pressure was reinforced; independent Powers were repudiated by the Diet, and the agreement took the form of resolutions signed by the separate States and deposited in the Federal archives. By the blessing of Providence Metternich had routed the forces both of Liberalism and Nationality in Germany. It was a crowning triumph that Austria had been allowed to direct the conference unimpeded by the co-operation of the external Powers, which had guaranteed the original Federal Constitution.

The victory had been made easy by some peculiarities of public opinion in Germany. Liberalism had been allied with the national German movement during the war of Liberation, but the alliance was soon dissolved. Liberal opinions flourished in academic circles, but had not permeated the middle classes, which relapsed into indifference. The first sessions of the Diet showed that Liberals could not hope for anything from the central power; Prussia and Austria manœuvred against each other and aroused the jealousy of the smaller States. In 1817 the Diet determined that the execution of Article XIII. of the Act of Confederation (by which the granting of Constitutions had been

foreshadowed) must be left to individual States. The members of the Diet began to act mainly as deputies at a Congress, and its powers were only revived in 1819 as a weapon of reaction. Liberalism became necessarily associated with the particularist aspirations of the different States. In the south, Baden and Bavaria, which aimed at incorporating the Baden Palatinate on the death of the ruling prince, vied with each other in granting Liberal Constitutions.

In Würtemberg the old Diet had enjoyed unusually large powers. During the Napoleonic period, Frederick II. had abolished it and ruled absolutely. In 1814 he trimmed his sails and promised a democratic Constitution, but the estates demanded their old rights and Frederick continued to rule without them. His successor, William, offered concessions, but the opposition had hardened and a compromise was not effected till 1819.

In the north reaction was stronger. Prussia had been promised a Constitution by Frederick William III., but the reformers, who urged him to fulfil his pledges, were balanced by the feudal nobility who opposed all concessions. Frederick William was undecided in character, and there was no strong minister to prompt him. Prussia had not as yet a real consciousness of solidarity, and for the time her energies were devoted to organizing the administration of her scattered territory, and in financial and fiscal reform. Maassen, the Finance Minister, freed internal trade throughout the Prussian provinces. Transit dues remained high, and the disposition of Prussian territory on the routes into Central Germany made this a powerful lever which was used later to force neighbouring States into a *Zollverein*.

In 1820 the Revolution, for which Germany was not yet ready, broke out in Southern Europe. In Spain revolution had come late. It was only during the Peninsular War that the Cortes set up a democratic and enlightened system of government, famous throughout Europe as the Constitution of 1812. With the expulsion of the French reaction began. Ferdinand, reinstated in power, reverted to absolute rule. The old machinery of government was restored, and with it came the Inquisition and the Jesuits; and many of the deputies at the Cadiz Cortes were deported

or imprisoned. The Government were at the same time engaged in an exhausting struggle with the revolted colonists in South America. England's commercial interests made her ministers unwilling to interfere, but the Czar promised his aid and a large Spanish force was mobilized. Cadiz, the starting-place of the expedition, was a centre of disaffection, which was spreading through the organization of the Freemasons.

The Liberals received the support of the leaders who had organized the revolt against Napoleon, and the army was opposed to the expedition against the colonies. In January, 1820, a military rising, under Colonel Quiroga and Raphael del Riego, gave the signal. In February Galicia rose, and was followed by Asturias, Aragon, Catalonia, Navarre and Pampeluna. On March 9th Ferdinand yielded, swore to observe the Constitution of 1812, and summoned the Cortes. When they met in July, the weakness of their position appeared. The finances demanded immediate attention, and reform inevitable diminished the popularity of the new Government. Its policy was, of necessity, anti-clerical, and it was thereby brought into collision with the most powerful influence in Spain. The army, which had begun the Revolution, was disbanded, and its leaders were alienated; and a cleavage appeared between moderate Liberals and extremists. Thus encouraged, the reactionaries began to organize resistance in armed bands, which received aid from the French border. Spain became once more a battlefield.

The example of the Spanish Liberals was widely followed. Portugal was discontented at the arrangement by which the government had been transferred, at the time of Napoleon's invasion, to Brazil. In 1821 the King was compelled to return, and two years later Brazil proclaimed her independence under his son, Pedro. On his arrival in Europe, John VI. found that the Cortes had followed the example of Spain and had proclaimed a similar Constitution. The King accepted the situation, but an Absolutist party, under his son, Dom Miguel, prepared to resist. Their rising, which took place in 1824, was temporarily successful, but the Powers used their influence to reinstate the King.

The Italians were more prompt to follow Spain's example. The conditions of Italian politics had been profoundly modified during the Napoleonic period and the diplomatists at Vienna, in ignoring the change, had only succeeded in driving the movement underground. Metternich recognized the possibility of a national movement, and the policy of Austria was directed to combat it. The Austrian provinces enjoyed an excellent system of education, and local government had been developed, but Austria remained the enemy of Liberal reformers in every part of Italy, because it was to her interest to maintain the existing order of society and government. Her influence dominated the smaller principalities of the north. In the south Murat's precipitancy had enabled the Powers, in accordance with the principle of legitimacy, to restore the Bourbon line. Ferdinand IV. signalized his restoration by promises of good government, security and freedom. Simultaneously he entered into a secret engagement to restrict the liberties of his people to the limits adopted by the Austrian Government in their Italian provinces. The authority of the clergy was restored, justice was corrupted, Liberal principles were persecuted, the Muratists were alienated by neglect. Secret societies were congenial to the national temper, and had spread widely even before 1814. The Cartonari, originally an organization of landowners, rapidly developed into a Liberal movement, supported by the middle classes and discontented soldiers. On July 2nd, 1820, two sub-lieutenants, Morelli and Salvati, raised the tricolour standard of the society at Nola. The Government was vacillating, and the King, without any attempt at resistance, accepted the Spanish Constitution on July 6th.

The effect of the Carlsbad decrees and the outbreak of the Spanish Revolution had been to set the policies of Alexander and Metternich in the clearest opposition. The Czar was not at all interested in the creation of a solid Germany, whether independent or under the control of Austria. But he was beginning to lose zest for Liberal ideas under the influence of domestic troubles, and the murder of the Duke of Berry on February 13th, 1820, hastened the development of the new train of thought. He proposed that the Powers should meet to discuss the

situation, and showed a suspicious anxiety to explain that he had troops to be marched across Europe to reduce Spain to order. Metternich protested against the policy of intervention. Then came the revolt in Naples. Metternich held that Austria had the right to intervene here in virtue of the secret compact between the Emperor and the King of Naples. He was opposed to the suggestion of a Congress of the Powers, because he had reason to suspect some connection between the Russian Court and the Italian rebels. His counter-proposal was that the different Governments should assent to the action of Austria. When, however, Castlereagh suggested that the ministers might with advantage meet in conference to see that the intervention was executed without injury to the European system, Metternich preferred the Russian proposal; and a Congress was summoned to meet at Troppau on October 20th, 1820. Before the conference met the show of unanimity had disappeared. Metternich wished the Allies to lay down general principles under which the intervention in Italy should fall. Revolutions were only to be legitimate when the change came "from above," and the Allies would not recognize them unless they did so. In reply, the English Government dissented from this view, on the ground that it involved an entire change in the character of the alliance. Lord Stewart attended the conference, but was instructed to refuse his assent to the Protocol, which gave expression to Metternich's principles. Austria had been supported, contrary to all expectation, by the Czar. The news of a military rising in St. Petersburg, received during the conference, completed the reaction in Alexander's temper, and for the moment he was the docile pupil of Metternich. England had made no objection to intervention by Austria, if she believed that her interests made it necessary. The King of Naples was invited to attend at a further conference, which met at Laibach in January, 1821. On his arrival, Ferdinand, who had promised his people to secure the official recognition of the change in their Constitution by the Powers, denounced the Revolution to a sympathetic audience. Austria's proposals were sanctioned, and no difficulty was experienced in putting down the revolt in Naples. While the Austrian troops were thus engaged came news of

a rising in Piedmont. Geographically and historically the Piedmontese kingdom was loosely connected with the rest of Italy, but the people were inspired by the ambition to drive the Austrians from Italian soil, and there was a strong popular belief that they had the countenance of a member of the royal family, Prince Charles Albert. King Victor Emmanuel felt himself too strongly bound to both sides to take part in the quarrel; he resigned, and, in the absence of his brother, Charles Felix, appointed Charles Albert regent. The young prince, without the consent of the new king, accepted the Spanish Constitution. His action was disavowed, and he was ordered to leave Turin. Thus deserted, the Revolutionaries lost ground, and the Austrians, with the aid of the partisans of Absolutist government, had little difficulty in suppressing the rising.

At Laibach, Castlereagh had emphasized the position of the English Government by refusing to assent to any attempt to revive the Troppau Protocol. The Congress was dissolved without arriving at a definite conclusion, and another was summoned to meet at Verona in the autumn of 1822. In the interval two developments altered the situation. The revolt of the Greeks and Russia's difficulties with Turkey ranged Austria and England on the same side in the endeavour to prevent Alexander from acting in isolation from the other Powers interested in the Eastern question. The continued disturbances in Spain gave the Ultras, who now dominated French politics, the opportunity for pressing forward an aggressive policy. Troops were massed on the Spanish frontier, and the French Government urged the Powers to sanction her intervention. Before the conference opened, Castlereagh's death removed the spokesman of the English ministry, but his successor, Canning, was a strong supporter, if not the originator, of the line of policy hitherto pursued. The English representatives were instructed to adopt a discreet neutrality with regard to the affairs of Italy and the Eastern question, and to refuse to intervene either in the internal affairs of Spain or in the relations between the Spanish Government and the colonies. Russia, Prussia and Austria returned favourable answers to the inquiries addressed to the Powers by the French ministers, and joined France in addressing notes to the Spanish

Government demanding the liberation of the King and the abolition of the Constitution of 1812. The English representative at the Congress had withdrawn from the discussion, but the English Government still strove to prevent the outbreak of war. The Power which had fought to save Spain from Napoleon was naturally unwilling that the French troops should re-enter the Peninsula. There was a more practical reason. The French Government did not confine its interest to the Spanish mainland. The Spanish colonies might be reduced to submission with the aid of the Power which restored the Bourbon line to the capital of empire at Madrid. In April, 1823, the French army crossed the boundary, and in May entered Madrid, while the Spanish Government retired, carrying the King with them, to Cadiz. After three months of blockade, the Liberals in September agreed to release the King, and he promised free pardon and a moderate government. There followed a reaction even more violent and bigoted than that which had marked Ferdinand's first restoration in 1814. Every Act passed during the period of constitutional government was repudiated, and Ferdinand continued to rule as an absolute monarch until his death in 1833.

As an epilogue to the Revolution in Spain came the recognition of the independence of the Spanish colonies in South America. England had long been interested in the establishment in those regions of a definite and responsible authority. The commercial interests of English merchants suffered from the refusal of the Spanish Government to recognize the rights of her colonies to trade with any nation but the mother country, and gained proportionately by the more enlightened attitude of the colonists themselves. There was, moreover, a difficulty in fixing the responsibility for the acts of piracy committed by vessels sailing under the Spanish flag in the waters of the New World. These motives were reinforced by the fear that France might develop her plans and seek to restore the authority of the Bourbons beyond the Atlantic. The danger of joint intervention by the Powers led President Monroe to enunciate the doctrine, with which his name is connected, that Europe should leave America to settle her own concerns. Hard upon this came Canning's determination to

recognize the independence of the Portuguese colony of Brazil, and the principle was extended shortly afterwards to Mexico, Colombia and Buenos Ayres.

The achievement was Canning's. The English Cabinet had barely survived the controversy which his proposals aroused. The credit or reproach belonged to him, and he appropriated the responsibility in a characteristic passage of rhetoric: "I resolved that, if France had Spain, it should not be Spain with the Indies. I called the New World into existence to redeem the balance of the Old." In spite of the magniloquent phrases, the importance of the new departure depended more upon the principles implied than upon its positive results. From sympathy, tempered by fear of opposition in Parliament, the attitude of the English Government to the European hierarchy had gradually developed, since the Congress of Vienna, into a veiled distrust. Under Canning's influence the estrangement was now openly avowed, and at Verona the Concert of Europe, though not dissolved, was crippled by the defection of an important member.

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CONTEMPORARY EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

1816. Princess Charlotte married Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg.
The defeat of the Dey of Algiers by Lord Exmouth.
The riots in Spa Fields suppressed by the Lord Mayor.

1817. General disaffection throughout Great Britain.
Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.
The march of the Blanketeers from Manchester.
The army and navy thrown open to Roman Catholics.
Mr. Grattan's motion for Roman Catholic relief again thrown out.
Sir Francis Burdett again urges reform of Parliament.
Princess Charlotte died.

1818. Sir Francis Burdett again brought forward an ineffectual reform bill.

1819. Birth of Princess (afterwards Queen) Victoria.
The case of Ashford *v.* Thornton.
The resumption of cash payments.
The massacre of Peterloo.
The Six Acts.

1820. Death of George III.
The Cato Street Conspiracy to assassinate the members of the Cabinet.
An attack upon Queen Caroline of Brunswick.

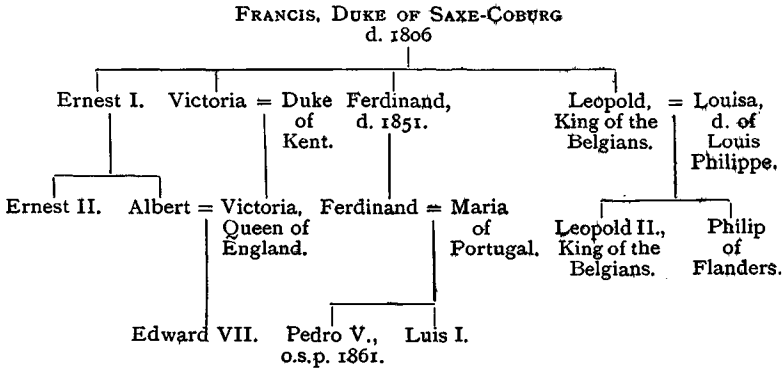
1821. The Commons carried a Roman Catholic Relief Bill, but it was rejected by the Lords.
Grampound is disfranchised.

CONTEMPORARY EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN—*continued*

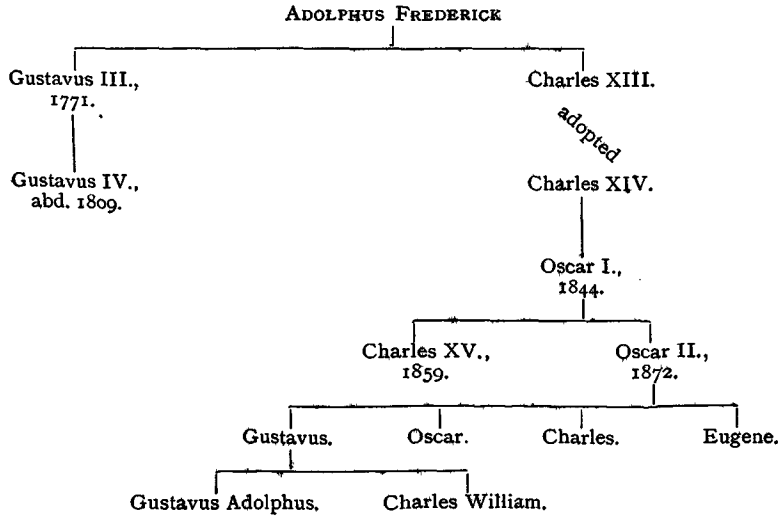
1822. The Marquis of Wellesley appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.
Robert Peel became Home Secretary.
Lord John Russell proposed the reform of Parliament.
Lord Castlereagh committed suicide.
Mr. Canning was appointed Foreign Secretary.

1823. Mr. Huskisson was appointed President of the Board of Trade.
Recognition by Mr. Canning of the freedom of the South American Republics.

PEDIGREE OF THE HOUSE OF SAXE-COBURG



PEDIGREE OF THE REIGNING HOUSE OF SWEDEN



CHAPTER IX

THE GRÆCO-TURKISH AND RUSSIAN WARS

1821–1831

CHIEF DATES IN TURKISH HISTORY FROM 1790–1820

1790. The Greek patriot, Lambro Canzani, defeated by the Turks.
1791. The peace of Sistova between Turkey and Austria.
1792. The peace of Jassy between Turkey and Russia.
1798. Turkey joined the alliance against France.
1799. The Turks assist in repelling Bonaparte at Acre, but are defeated at Aboukir.
1800. Kleber defeated the Turks at Heliopolis.
1801. Peace between Turkey and France.
1804. The Janissaries conquered by the Servians.
1805. Kara George, the Servian patriot, defeated the army of the Sultan.
1806. The Servians gained their independence.
1807. War with Great Britain and Russia. Truce of Slobosia. Succession of Mustapha IV.
1808. Succession of Mahmoud II.
1809. Revolt of the Janissaries. Peace with England. War renewed with Russia.
1810. The Russians defeated the Turks at Battin.
1811. Mehemet Ali massacred the Mamelukes.
1812. The Treaty of Bucharest ended the Russian War.
1814. The Turks were not allowed to send a representative to the Congress of Vienna.
1820. Proposed reforms in the Turkish army caused renewed opposition from the Janissaries.

DURING the period immediately following upon the fall of Napoleon the affairs and interests of Greeks, Turks, and Albanians centred round the remarkable figure of Ali Pasha,* who, by force and by fraud, exercised complete jurisdiction in his island castle at Janina. Here the "Lion of Janina" administered a rough and ready justice amongst the wild tribes of Albania, and attempted to establish an independent kingdom. It was, indeed, his open defiance of the Sultan that gave the Greeks the opportunity for which they had long been waiting. The settlement of Europe at the Congress of Vienna had done nothing for the Christian subjects of the Sultan, and they had learnt that what they wanted must be gained entirely by their own efforts. Nor were echoes of the revolutionary turmoil in France wanting to urge the

* Ali Pasha (1741–1822); pasha of Trikala 1787, of Janina 1788, and governor of Rumili 1803; deposed 1822.

best educated Greeks to struggle for the reconstruction of the glories which had passed away. The *Hetairia Philike,* or association of friends, was determined to rid Europe of the Mahomedans. An independent spirit was fostered in many ways among the different communities of the Greek race. To the educated and wealthy families dispersed throughout Europe the French Revolution had been an inspiration. The island Greeks had long enjoyed a measure of autonomy, and on the mainland the tradition of independence remained among the brigands and the local *armatoli* to whom the police of the mountains was entrusted. Shipping industries flourished; partly, since the treaty of Kutchuk Kainarji, under the Russian ensign. Consciousness of racial identity had been aroused by the new semi-classical language in which Adeimuntus Korais had sought to revive the literary tradition of Hellas. Among these incongruous beginnings the spirit of independence had its roots.

Ever since the foundation of the society its chiefs had pretended that they were really carrying out the orders of the Russian Foreign Minister, Capodistrias,* who, a Greek of Corfu by birth, had become one of the leading statesmen of Europe. By the year 1820 the work of the association had been so successful that the leaders were obliged to throw off the mask of deception, and openly invited Capodistrias to assume that position which they had for six years pretended that he held. The wise minister refused the honour, and urged his countrymen to undertake no rash action. Disappointed by their failure to obtain the leadership of one who stood in the first rank, they fell back upon Prince Alexander Ypsilanti,† son of a former hospodar of Wallachia who had lost much at the hands of the Turks. The choice seems to have been an unfortunate one, but Ypsilanti himself readily accepted the tempting offer of the association.

The plan decided upon was that Theodor Wladimeresco, a Roumanian, should raise a revolt among the Wallachian peasantry, and that Ypsilanti should then step in to control the movement. In February, 1821, Wladimeresco with a

* Joannes Antonios Capodistrias (1776–1831); passed into Russian service 1809; became President of Greece 1828.

† Alexander Ypsilanti (1783–1828), fought for Russia in 1812.

horde of peasants marched on Bucharest, while at the beginning of March the members of the Greek association, under Karavias, brutally murdered the Turks. It was now time for Ypsilanti to leave the Russian frontier, and on March 7th, having crossed the Pruth, he proceeded to Jassy, where he was joined by a large force of insurgents. Two things, however, were fatal to their cause ; the first was the incapable and dilatory conduct of Ypsilanti, while the second was the clearly expressed disapproval of the movement by the Czar and the Powers. The rebellion was declared to be as revolutionary as the outbreaks in Spain and Naples, and the Congress of Laibach refused to give the association any encouragement. It was in vain for Ypsilanti to pretend that Russia was playing a deep game ; it was equally in vain that the association murdered the traitor Wladimeresco ; it was, too, of no avail for the gallant Georgakis to throw away his life on behalf of the cause at Skuleni on the Pruth. The Turks were completely victorious, and Ypsilanti was driven into Austria.

The first movement had failed ; but the spirit of independence was not stamped out, and in April, 1821, the people of the Morea revolted. Plans, however, were non-existent, and they lacked organization, method, and discipline. The massacres that ensued were horrible in the extreme, and before the month of May those Turks who had escaped murder found themselves besieged in such towns as Patras and Tripolitza. The Greeks, while massacring the Turks in the Morea, seem to have forgotten that the Mahomedans also had the power of retaliation by butchering the Greeks of Constantinople. On April 22nd, after many previous days of bloodshed, the whole of Europe was startled by the execution of the Greek Patriarch Gregorios IV., and the cold-blooded assassination of the Archbishops of Adrianople, Salonica and Tirnovo, which were followed by a general pillage of Christian churches and the murder of their priests. Massacre succeeded massacre wherever Christians were to be found. The Czar Alexander could not fail to be much disturbed by this attack upon his fellow Christians ; but he was on the horns of a dilemma, for he had thrown himself heart and soul into the legitimist policy of Metternich, and supported the view that the Greek Rebellion was merely one more example of the " revolutionary pest."

The Turks, however, had gone too far. They had not only murdered the head of the Orthodox Church, but they had interfered with Russian shipping and Russian rights. The result was that an ultimatum was sent to Constantinople demanding redress for all that had happened. To this the Sultan refused to reply, and the Russian ambassador, Strogonoff, left Constantinople on July 27th. War seemed inevitable, and 100,000 men were concentrated on the frontiers of the Principalities.

Two countries, however, viewed with alarm any interference of Russia with the Porte. Austria had formerly been champion of Europe against the Turks, but ever since Metternich had been the director of European diplomacy it had been his object to preserve the Ottoman Empire, and keep the nations at peace by means of congresses. To Austria a Russian advance was a serious menace and a thing to be avoided. Great Britain, too, though not immediately endangered by Russian advance, was averse to the increase of Russian power. The policy of Alexander had long caused mistrust amongst English foreign ministers, and from the time of the Congress of Vienna to the outbreak of insurrection, Castlereagh had, with anxiety, watched every action of the Czar. It appeared to the authorities that the Ottoman Empire must be preserved at all costs, and that, to avert war, the interference of the Czar must be prevented. Castlereagh's attitude was that of an unimaginative man who had learnt the lessons of the past. To him any insurrection in Greece was only of importance in so far as it might again kindle the torch of battle. It was, indeed, for this reason that he approached the Czar with the greatest sincerity and earnestly pleaded that war should not be the outcome. He felt now, as strongly as he had done at the time of the Congress of Laibach, that "England stands pledged to uphold the territorial arrangements established at the Congress of Vienna. The invasion of a weaker State by a stronger State for the purposes of conquest would demand our immediate interference. But with the internal affairs of each separate State we have nothing to do. We could neither share in nor approve, though we might feel called upon to resist the intervention of the ally to put down internal disturbances in the dominions of another. We have never committed ourselves to any such principle as that, and we must, as a

general rule, protest against it." Metternich was temporarily in alliance with Castlereagh, and equally desired that peace should be preserved ; but was actuated by different reasons and sentiments. He saw in the Greek revolt the bloodstained hand of revolution. He considered that it was only one more of the many examples that were exciting unrest in Austria. Behind this was also the fear that the outcome of war could only lead to the aggrandizement of Russia and the displacement of Austria in the near East. For these reasons both Powers desired the maintenance of the existing order. For twelve months the diplomatists of Austria and England waited in suspense, but the die was cast when in August, 1822, Capodistrias retired from his exalted post, and took up his abode in Geneva to await the course of events. This retirement, which had been brought about by the gradual settlement of Alexander's doubts, marked the triumph of the policy of councils, and bound Alexander to that federation of European courts that he had so largely helped to inaugurate. The Greek patriots had been deserted in order that the Powers might suppress revolutionary principles elsewhere, and Europe escaped a general war, leaving the Greeks and Turks to settle their own disagreements.

The insurrection in the Morea was followed by a similar outburst in Central Greece, where the same hideous atrocities marked the fanatical and merciless spirit of the Greeks. At the time the Turks, under Khurshid Pasha, were busily engaged in attempting to reduce the crafty Ali Pasha in his stronghold of Janina. Had he been able to make some alliance with the Greeks the Albanian chieftain might have altered the whole course of events. As it was he was cooped up by the resourceful Ottoman general, who thereby saved the border provinces, and was rewarded in 1822 by the capture of Janina and the death of Ali. Nor was the Sultan less successful in Chalcidice, where, owing to factious quarrels, the Turks soon restored their rule. This, however, was not the case in the Aegean Islands, where an active share was taken in the revolt. The islands of Hydra, Spetza, and Psara had been suffering for some years from a failure of trade, and it was not long before the quarrel between the owners and their seamen merged into the great quarrel between the Greeks and the Turks. The sailors of these islands supported the cause of

independence, and formed the nucleus of a navy that played no small part in the final creation of the Kingdom of Greece.

The first provisional government of the Greeks, known as the Senate of Kaltesti, was soon established outside the besieged Tripolitza, and men flocked to join the great cause. Amongst these were Demetrios Ypsilanti,* brother of the late leader ; Prince Mavrocordato, a politician of no mean ability ; Kolokotrones, a born soldier, but cunning and faithless ; and the jovial, picturesque Petros, chief of the Maina. The Greeks, however, stained the story of their struggle by most barbarous massacres and numerous instances of ill-faith. In August, 1821, after a promise of quarter, the inhabitants of Navarino were butchered in cold blood, regardless of sex or age, and on October 5th the same awful scenes were witnessed at the capitulation of Tripolitza, where 2,000 Mahomedan prisoners were brutally slaughtered. It is not surprising that the Turks seized every opportunity to retaliate. Thus, between April and June, 1822, the island of Chios became a huge shambles ; thousands were slain in the places of sanctuary, and whole families were ruthlessly exterminated. Day after day the island was given up to the murderous lust, passion, and profligacy of Ottoman troops and volunteers. Words fail to describe these horrors, but it has been calculated that no fewer than thirty thousand persons were either murdered or sold into perpetual slavery from this island, the most peaceful, prosperous, and civilized of the Aegean Sea. One man, who afterwards became the idol and pride of the Greeks, did something towards revenging the Chian horrors. On the night of June 18th, when the Turkish admiral, Kara Ali, with a thousand men, was celebrating the feast of Ramazan on board the flag ship, Constantine Kanaris,† from the island of Psara, drove a fire ship down upon the unsuspecting Turks. The plan was eminently successful, and practically all the Turkish seamen, including Kara Ali, either perished in that Gehenna of flame or were drowned in the waters illuminated by the awful conflagration. So terrified

* Demetrios Ypsilanti (1793–1832); served in the Russian army; took part in the capture of Tripolitza, 1820; gallantly defended Argos; commander-in-chief of the Greeks 1828–1830.

† Constantine Kanaris (1790–1877); made senator 1847.

were the rest of the commanders that they evacuated the Aegean and took refuge in the Dardanelles.

The Sultan was now determined to make the greatest effort to crush the revolt. From Larissa two armies were despatched towards the south ; the one, under Omer Vrioni, by the west of the Corinthian Gulf, while the second, under Ali, the Pasha of Drama, was to enter the Morea on the east. In the mountains, through which the first army would have to pass, there were once again the Suliotes, who had been conquered by Ali Pasha in 1804, and had since been exiles in the Ionian Islands. It was the purpose of these Suliotes to act as a link between the Hellenes and the Christians of Albania. The first object of the Greeks was to relieve Suli from the army of Omer Vrioni, which ought to have been done easily enough. Unfortunately Mavrocordato imagined himself a general as well as a politician, and made so complete a muddle of the expedition that the foreign regiment of Philhellenes was annihilated at Arta on July 16th, and the Suliotes were again driven into exile by the Turks. The remnant retired to Missolonghi, which they defended with heroism from May 7th, 1825, to April 22nd, 1826. The Greek fleet commanded the sea, and kept the besieged supplied with provisions until Omer Vrioni retired.

The second army, under the Pasha of Drama, was, at first, no less fortunate than that of Omer. In July, the isthmus of Corinth was passed, the Greek Government was dispersed from Argos, and the Turkish army was relieved at Nauplia. But owing to the gallantry of Demetrios Ypsilanti the citadel of Argos held out until Kolokotrones raised a force to come to his assistance. Unsupported by the Turkish fleet he was obliged to retreat in August, and only a small remnant of that triumphant Ottoman army managed to cut its way back to Corinth, for most of his men perished on August 6th in the defiles of Devernaki.

The Greeks had done much to weary the Sultan, and Kolokotrones had acted splendidly for his country ; but factious spirits arose and the hero of the moment set himself up against the Greek Legislature. A compromise was made by appointing Konduriottes of Hydra President, supported by Kolettes as chief minister. This form of government soon caused disaffection, for the President had only the welfare of the island

at heart, and civil war broke out between Kolokotrones and the Primate of the Morea, on the one side, and the supporters of the Hydra government on the other. Kolettes proved himself a politician of no small ability, and the Kolokotrones faction was defeated and their leader imprisoned.

In the meantime the Sultan was driven to seek aid from one of his most dangerous vassals, Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt. It was a perilous action on the part of Mahmoud, for the Egyptian's fleet and army, which had been organized on the European model, were superior to those of Turkey and might be turned against their nominal suzerain. In exchange for the island of Crete and the Pashalik of Morea, conferred on his son Ibrahim, Mehemet Ali agreed to reduce the Greek rebels to submission. The wretched government of Konduriottes could do nothing to save the islands, and Casos and the splendid shipping island of Psara were allowed to fall into the possession of Khosrew, the Turkish admiral, and his Egyptian allies. The fall of Psara at last aroused the Greeks to despatch a strong fleet to protect Samos, and drive Ibrahim to the coast of Asia Minor. The Greeks proved too easily satisfied, and after returning to Hydra they allowed Ibrahim to reach Crete in December. In the following spring the Egyptian commander landed troops at Modon in Morea, occupied Sphachteria and captured Navarino.

Kolokotrones was released and put in command of the Greek forces, but it was in vain. He was driven back through Tripolitza, and Ibrahim continued his advance unchecked to Nauplia. Here, however, Demetrios Ypsilanti again showed his wonderful courage and beat back the Egyptian vanguard. Ibrahim retired to Tripolitza, and then began such a period of brutality that the Philhellenes throughout Europe were aroused, and most of the governments began to think it time to step in to prevent the establishment of barbarism in the birth-place of civilization. But before any steps could be taken the world was horrified by the terrible conclusion of the second seige of Missolonghi. From April, 1825, to January, 1826, Reshid Pasha * had besieged the town without success. The people had shown astounding bravery, and the sea-captains of Hydra, under Admiral

* Reshid Pasha (1802–1858).

Miaoulis, had thrown supplies into the town and had forced the Turkish fleet to retire. In January the grim work of blockade was undertaken by Ibrahim, with the result that on April 22nd all food supplies failed. The inhabitants, men, women, and children, endeavoured to cut their way out. Thousands perished in the attempt, and owing to a mistaken order some struggled back to the town only to perish in the massacre that marked the incoming of the Egyptians. Some fought bravely to the end, blowing up the powder magazine and perishing in the explosion. Meanwhile, in spite of the efforts of Gordon, Church and other volunteers, Athens, Munychia and the Acropolis had fallen. The whole of continental Greece fell into the enemy's hands, and resistance survived only in Morea.

The hour had arrived, however, for the intervention of the Powers on behalf of the Greek patriots, who now held practically nothing except the besieged Nauplia. For some years there had been in Europe a large number of Philhellenic societies, and Frenchmen like Colonel Fabvier, and English officers like Colonel Gordon and Sir Richard Church, had brought to the Greek cause not only their fighting capacity, but their knowledge of military science. Byron's efforts on behalf of Greece and the news of his death at Missolonghi stirred the imagination of his admirers in western Europe. The consciences of Christians had at last been roused by the horrors perpetrated by Ibrahim and his negro and fellaheen army. As early as January 12th, 1824, the Czar had proposed that the Powers should make a joint intervention, being partially led to this action by the obvious goodwill displayed by Canning to the cause of the insurgents.

George Canning, the favourite disciple of Pitt, had been appointed Foreign Minister after the untimely death of Lord Castlereagh in August, 1822. His object was always that English interests should alone direct the work of English statesmen, and that as far as possible the countries of Europe should not interfere with each other's domestic affairs, but that nations should "set up for themselves whatever form of government they thought best." This he stated with great clearness to the Duke of Wellington in September, 1822. "Our object, in common with our allies, has been to maintain peace, aware that a new war, in whatever quarter it might

be kindled, might presently involve all Europe in its flames. Our object, as with respect to ourselves, has been to avoid all interference with the internal concerns of any nation—an interference not authorized in our case by positive rights or obligations of a Treaty." In accordance with this principle he was ready to mediate between Russia and Turkey, but not, at first, between the Sultan and the revolted Greeks. At the same time his personal inclinations were well known. The success of the Greeks during the latter part of the year 1822 put their government on a new footing. It was essential to fix the responsibility for the acts of piracy which became increasingly common ; and, on March 23rd, 1823, the British Government recognized the Greeks as belligerents. The diplomatists of Austria and Prussia scented the danger of isolated intervention by Great Britain. In October the monarchs debated the situation at Czernovitz, where Alexander proposed that Greece should be divided into three independent principalities under the suzerainty of the Powers. This was not more acceptable to Metternich than to Canning. A conference met at St. Petersburg in June, 1824, but the British delegate retired and a wide divergence appeared between Metternich's view—that the Greeks must be either completely subject or completely independent—and Alexander's determination to do nothing which would diminish the influence of Russia in the south. The joint note in which the Sultan was offered the mediation of the Powers produced no effect. Charles X. of France had been won over to Metternich's side. An understanding between Russia and England naturally suggested itself, and in the summer of 1825 Canning opened negotiations. Alexander took the view that no intervention was practicable which did not contemplate the use of force, and avowed his intention of settling the question himself if Great Britain was unwilling to co-operate on those terms. A journey undertaken by the Emperor in southern Russia about this time gave point to the suggestion ; but, while negotiations were still proceeding, Alexander died at Taganrog on December 24th, 1825.

The Duke of Wellington was sent to congratulate the new Czar, Nicholas I., on his accession, and was instructed to invite the co-operation of Russia in a further effort to mediate between Turkey and the Greek rebels. The proposal was

accepted in spite of the fact that a Russian ultimatum had been despatched already to the Sultan demanding an immediate conference to settle the grievances of the Russian Government. The Protocol of St. Petersburg was signed on April 4th, 1826. The Sultan showed his indignation at Russia's action by pressing forward the reorganization of the army. The Janissaries, long the tyrants of Constantinople, rose in defence of their privileges ; and, though he was able to suppress their revolt, Mahmoud was compelled, by the treaty of Akkerman, on October 7th, 1826, to grant the demands of Russia.

To the joint proposals of the protocol he offered a stubborn resistance, and negotiations proceeded between England and Russia, the English ministers deprecating the use of force, which Russia continued to urge. In April, 1827, Canning succeeded Lord Liverpool as Prime Minister, and Wellington, the chief opponent of Russian policy, refused to serve in the new Government. The effects of this change were visible when, on July 6th, 1827, the Protocol of St. Petersburg was converted into the Treaty of London. Austria remained obdurate and Prussia followed her lead, but France joined England and Russia in the agreement : to procure the autonomy of Greece under Turkish suzerainty, if possible by negotiation, but if necessary, by forcing an armistice on the belligerents.

Canning's death on August 8th, 1827, found the new policy launched but in need of careful and resolute handling. Such qualities were not to be found in the Cabinet now formed under the presidency of Lord Goderich, and Metternich was emboldened to hope that he might yet foil the Allies. A note, offering the Sultan the good offices of Austria, was presented at Constantinople on October 20th. On the same day the complexion of negotiations was altered by the battle of Navarino. The allied fleets in Greek waters had been instructed to propose an armistice and, if necessary, to enforce it by a peaceful blockade. The British admiral, Codrington, found the Greeks ready to negotiate, but the Turks refused to consider the proposal, and their determination was fortified by the arrival of an Egyptian fleet which joined the Turkish fleet in the bay of Navarino. Here they were blockaded by the English and French fleets acting in concert.

Ibrahim was awaiting the instructions of the Sultan, when, on September 23rd, the Greeks destroyed a Turkish squadron in the bay of Corinth. Ibrahim attempted to leave Navarino and was turned back. An ultimatum delivered by the English admiral received no answer, and on October 20th the English and French fleets entered the harbour. Chance shots led to a general engagement, and the Turkish and Egyptian fleets were destroyed.

The effects of Navarino were, from one point of view, very considerable, and it has been characterized as one of the decisive battles of history. Metternich exclaimed that "for Europe the event of October 20th began a new era." In England, however, Goderich's weak Cabinet was panic-stricken. Its members, together with Dudley, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, showed none of the sterling qualities or promptness of George Canning, and they were disinclined to accept the whole responsibility, and were quite incapable of any vigorous action. The battle was referred to as "an untoward event," but the Sultan's demand for reparation was refused. Russia was permitted to take up the whole conduct of affairs. It was a policy that Canning could never have sanctioned, and it was an example of that extraordinary incoherence that marked the doings and methods of English statesmen from 1827 to 1831.

In December Mahmoud formally denounced the treachery of the Powers and annulled the treaty of Akkerman. Russia controlled the situation, and the Czar declared his intention of occupying the Principalities. The Duke of Wellington, who succeeded Goderich as Premier at the beginning of 1828, protested, but the Powers were disarmed by Russia's offer of co-operation in carrying out the provisions of the Treaty of London. In that treaty the Powers had contemplated armed intervention, should Turkey remain unconvinced by peaceful suasion. These conditions were fulfilled by the action of the Sultan, who had issued a proclamation inviting his subjects to undertake a holy war against the infidels. Thus the battle of Navarino decided the long-debated question of method at the moment when a change in the character of the English Government seemed about to place fresh obstacles in the way of the solution favoured by the Czar.

On May 4th, 1828, the Russian army crossed the Pruth.

After Navarino and the extermination of the Janissaries it seemed as if the Turkish empire must lie exposed to every attack by land and sea. But, as so often in the history of Turkey in Europe, the event falsified expectations. The military resources of Russia were far weaker than had been anticipated, and Wittgenstein * was too old to command effectively the forces at his disposal.

The Roumanian territories were first occupied by the Russians, who crossed the Danube on June 7th. To bar their path the Turks had entrenched themselves in Ibraila, Silistria, Varna, and Shumla. The first of these capitulated on June 18th; but Shumla held out bravely under Omer Vrioni, and Wittgenstein was unable to move forward. At last, on September 24th, the Turkish general broke out and marched to the relief of Varna. On his way he defeated Prince Eugene of Würtemberg, but so delayed his march that on October 10th Varna surrendered. Nevertheless, the Turks were satisfied with the check they had given to the Russian advance, and, winter coming on, the military campaign ended. The Angel of Death, however, stalked through the Russian camp, and sickness terribly wasted their ranks. At the beginning of 1829, Wittgenstein was removed in favour of the Prussian, Diebitsch,† who, on June 10th at Kulewtscha, utterly routed Reshid Pasha after some Turkish successes between Shumla and Varna. Diebitsch was thus able to accomplish what he had first intended to do, and before the end of the month the Turkish stronghold of Silistria had fallen into Russian hands.

The meagre Russian force had established a reputation which it hardly deserved, and in July crossed the Balkans unopposed. On August 19th Diebitsch, with 13,000 men, obliged Adrianople to capitulate. The chief ports on the Black Sea were captured by detached expeditions and he prepared to march on Constantinople. The Russian force numbered only 20,000 men, but the news of Russian victories in Asia Minor and the fear of rebellion within the walls of Constantinople induced the Sultan to surrender. For the Czar moderation was a matter of expediency. France showed

* Wilhelm Ludwig Georg Wittgenstein, Prince of Sayn (1769–1843).

† Hans Karl Friedrich, Count Diebitsch (1785–1831); fought in campaigns of 1805, and 1812–1814.

herself agreeable to the idea of partitioning the Turkish dominions in exchange for a modification of her own eastern frontier. But neither England nor Austria was likely to prove complaisant, and Russia would only lose her hold on Turkish policy by a general European war. Accordingly in the treaty of Adrianople, which was signed on September 4th, 1829, Russia's part was forbearance. She could not deny herself all territorial gain, and Anapa and Poli, on the eastern shore of the Black Sea, became part of Russia. The Danubian provinces were made almost independent of Turkey and more susceptible to Russian influence. The Turks were to have no forts on the left bank of the Danube; the Dardanelles were to be open to all merchant shipping; and freedom of trade was to exist in the Black Sea. An indemnity was also demanded, which, as long as it remained unfixed and unpaid, gave the Czar an opportunity of exercising pressure upon the Sultan. Besides these arrangements the Porte agreed to a clause, arranged by the Powers, for the regulation of the Greek frontier.

The war between Turkey and Russia had played no inconsiderable part in the history of Greece. In April, 1827, Capodistrias had been offered the Presidency of Greece, and before taking up his office he visited certain Courts to find out what help he would be likely to obtain from them. He found at St. Petersburg that Russian support would mean that Greece was to be ruled in such a way that Russia could intervene on every possible pretext. The Czar also insisted on the abolition of local self-government and its replacement by autocracy. The first of the Czar's proposals did not suit the schemes of his ex-minister; the second, however, tallied exactly with his own principles and beliefs. By the Protocol of London, July 19th, 1828, it had been resolved to attempt a settlement of the Greek troubles, while the arms of Russia were still unsuccessful. France was authorized to intervene and a French corps under General Maison* reached the Gulf of Corinth on August 30th. They were met with the news that Ibrahim had agreed to evacuate the Morea. Earlier in the month Sir Edward Codrington had appeared off Alexandria and Mehemet Ali had consented to withdraw his forces. Capodistrias now threw in his lot with Russia against the

* Nicolas Joseph, Marquis Maison (1771–1840); marshal of France.

Turks, and with energy succeeded in reconquering Missolonghi and the country north of the Gulf of Corinth. He had been largely tempted to do this by the issue of a protocol of the Powers in November, 1828, which limited the sphere of the allies to the Morea and the islands. The action of Capodistrias, and the continued Turkish resistance, tempted the allies to act more generously, and by the Protocol of March, 1829, the Greek northern frontier was extended to a line drawn from the Gulf of Arta to the Gulf of Volo. Greece was to be a tributary State, ruled by an hereditary prince under the suzerainty of the Sultan. After the Treaty of Adrianople, fear of Russia's advance southward reconciled the Powers to Greek independence, and by common consent the Sultan's supremacy was abandoned and the circumscribed Hellenic kingdom was accepted by Leopold of Saxe-Coburg on February 11th, 1830.

In the years of revolution much perished, but the source of Greek independence, the desire for local self-government, remained alive. Capodistrias, however, failed to understand this, and work as he would he never could have succeeded in bringing the Greeks to a happy and peaceful nation by establishing uniformity in all parts of the government and creating a highly centralized administrative system. He was, undoubtedly, deeply disappointed by the appointment of Leopold, for he had ever had hopes that he himself might have become Prince of the country that certainly held all his affections, even if his methods of government were erroneous. It is probable that his actions and letters were largely the cause of Leopold's renunciation of the crown that was so shorn of all power. From May, 1830, Capodistrias was, therefore, free from personal rivalry, but he found that the greater part of the nation were against him. Bureaucratic methods and attacks upon constitutional liberties, such as the freedom of the Press, earned him the hatred and distrust of those fellow-countrymen who had formerly looked to him as a leader. At last open revolt broke out. Among those implicated was Petros Bey. Two other members of the Mavromichales family were inspired to avenge his humiliation, and on October 9th, 1831, Capodistrias was assassinated in the Church of St. Spiridion at Nauplia.

Meanwhile, in Western Europe the revolutions of 1830 made the Powers eager for a settlement on any terms. The fall of the Tory Government in England smoothed the way to an agreement, and on February 1st, 1833, Otto of Bavaria, a lad of eighteen years of age, was entrusted with the rule of a distracted country composed for the most part of unruly shepherds and lawless brigands. A fresh frontier was arranged which enlarged the kingdom, but still excluded Crete, Thessaly, and Epirus. The date marks, not the solution of a problem, for the Greek nation was yet to make, but the beginning of a new epoch.

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CONTEMPORARY EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

1824. The Law of Settlement repealed.
The beginning of Free Trade by the reduction of duties on certain articles.
The repeal of the Combination Laws.

1825. The suppression of the Catholic Association.
A Bill for the Relief of Roman Catholics carried in the Commons but rejected by the Lords.
The strike of the Bradford woolcombers.

1826. Riots in Lancashire.
The partial re-enactment of the Combination Laws.
Troops are sent to Portugal.

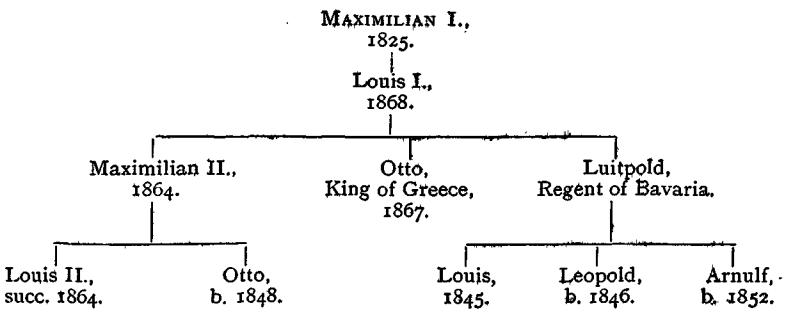
1827. The Duke of York died.
Mr. Canning became Prime Minister on the resignation of Lord Liverpool.
Mr. Canning died in August, and was succeeded by Lord Goderich.

1828. The Duke of Wellington became Prime Minister on the resignation of Lord Goderich.
The repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts.
The Penryn and East Retford Bills.
The election of Daniel O'Connell for the county of Clare.
The revival of the Catholic Association.

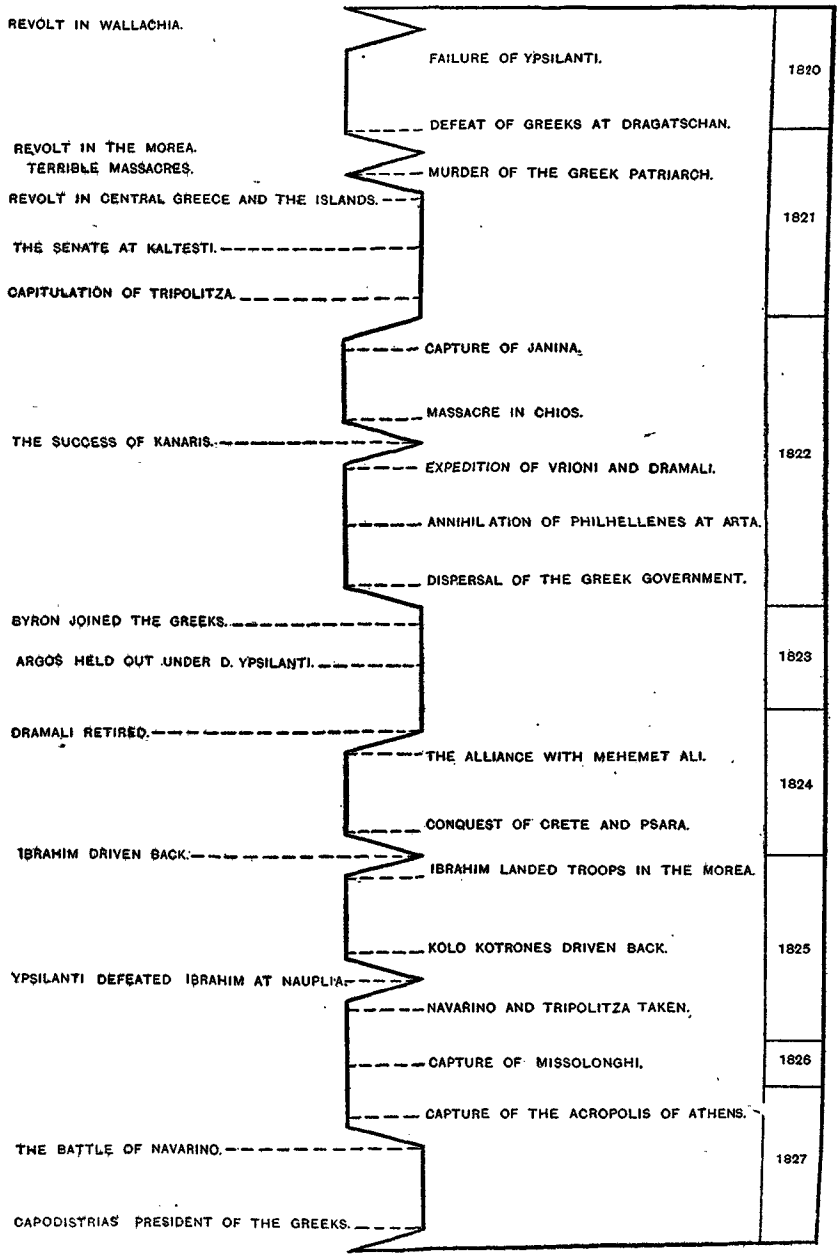
1829. The Catholic Association was ordered to be suppressed.
The Roman Catholic Emancipation Bill passed.

1830. Death of George IV.

PEDIGREE OF THE ROYAL HOUSE OF BAVARIA



THE FORTUNES OF THE GREEKS AND TURKS. 1820-1827.



CHAPTER X

EUROPE UNSETTLED

1830—1843

THE CHIEF DATES IN THE CONTEMPORARY HISTORY OF INDIA AND AMERICA.

Date.	*India.*	*America.*
1817.	The Pindari and last Maratha War.	James Monroe elected President.
1819.	...	Florida acquired by the U.S.A.
1821.	...	The "Missouri Compromise."
1823.	Lord Amherst appointed Governor-General.	The "Monroe Doctrine" proclaimed.
1824.	The first war with Burmah.	Treaty with Russia.
1825.	...	J. Q. Adams elected President.
1826.	Assam ceded to Great Britain.	
1828.	Lord W. Bentinck appointed Governor-General.	
1829.	...	A. Jackson elected President.
1835.	Coorg annexed by the British.	
1837.	...	Van Buren elected President.
1839.	The first Afghan War.	Americans assisted Papineau.
1841.	Murder of Burnes and Macnaghten at Cabul.	Harrison elected President; succeeded by J. Tyler.
1842.	Lord Ellenborough appointed Governor-General.	The Ashburton Treaty with Great Britain.
1843.	The Sind War.	
1845.	The first Sikh War.	J. Polk elected President. Annexation of Texas.
1846–47.	...	War with Mexico.
1848.	Lord Dalhousie appointed Governor-General.	Discovery of gold in California.
1849.	Annexation of the Punjaub.	Z. Taylor elected President; succeeded by M. Fillmore.

DURING the last years of Louis XVIII. Liberalism in the Assembly of France became almost extinct. The electoral law of 1820 was successful in its objects. The partial elections in 1820, 1821, and 1822 had increased the Royalist majorities. In 1824 Villèle decided upon a dissolution and in the New Chamber there were only seventeen Liberals out of a total of 434. Charles X. on September 16th, 1824, succeeded Louis, and reaction was started on every side. The *émigrés* received their compensation, the Church obtained its old ascendency, the Jesuits were authorized to return, and the Gallicans were alarmed by the claims of the Ultramontanes. Opposition soon sprang up, which the ministers tried to quell by censorship of the Press, the closure

of the *Ecole Normale* as a seat of sedition, and the threat to abolish trial by jury. Even the National Guard was contaminated, and its mutinous aspect caused the King to order its disbandment in 1825. Extreme Royalists and Liberals began to unite in opposition to the policy of the Government. Villèle determined upon another dissolution, while he tried to secure the position of the Government in the Upper Chamber by the nomination of 76 new peers. During the elections Paris was the scene of formidable riots and the streets were barricaded. A number of Liberals were returned, and, in December, 1827, Villèle fell before a coalition of Ultras and opponents of the Monarchy. In January, 1828, he was succeeded by a moderate, the Vicomte de Martignac,* who attempted at the same time to conciliate public opinion and to maintain the authority of the Crown. He failed to satisfy the Liberals by his partial reforms or to reconcile the Ultras to them. In August, 1829, he retired and the King entrusted the government to Prince Jules de Polignac,† an *émigré* and a leader of the reactionaries. At the same time General Bourmont ‡ was made Minister of War, a man intolerable to the French people as a deserter from Napoleon at Waterloo. Polignac was notorious for his good-will towards the priests, and all the world recognized that Charles had entirely failed to learn the lessons of the past and to realize that serious undercurrents of revolution were forming on every side. An address in which the several deputies demanded the choice of representative ministers provoked Charles to authorize prorogation, and from that moment the bitter discontent against the royal ministers was transferred to the monarch himself. Lafayette, the Republican, began at once to form a secret society, "*aide toi et le ciel t'aidera*," for Liberal agitation.

The unpopularity thus excited was too violent to be overcome by successes abroad, and Charles placed vain hopes in the conquest of Algiers. General Bourmont had been dispatched in May, 1830, nominally to punish the Dey for his

* J. B. S. A., Vicomte de Martignac (1776–1832).

† Auguste Jules Armand Marie, Prince de Polignac (1780–1847); made a prince by the Pope 1820; ambassador to England 1823; head of Bourbon ministry 1829; imprisoned at Ham; liberated 1836.

‡ Louis Auguste Victor, Comte de Ghaisnes de Bourmont (1773–1846); marshal of France.

conduct towards the French Consul, but in reality to endeavour to obtain for France a grip on the southern shore of the Mediterranean. The slyness of the French policy at this time is particularly noticeable. They had hoped to obtain the assistance of Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, and thus gain some influence in the valley of the Nile. Great Britain, however, exercised such pressure upon Mehemet Ali that he refused to take any share in the French schemes. Great Britain only allowed the expedition to start on the direct understanding that it was punitive and not colonial in character. On July 4th the French were absolutely successful, and Polignac had hoped that the elections would therefore be favourable and that the country would be stirred by the idea of a new France in sunny Africa. But he was destined to be disappointed; and the election produced a still more powerful opposition to the unconstitutional monarchy under the deputies Royer-Collard and Guizot.* Exasperated by his impotence in the Chamber, where he could count on no more than 100 supporters, Charles made use of Article 14 in the Charter. By it the Crown retained the right of providing for the safety of the State by special regulations. On July 25th, 1830, he issued the *Four Ordinances*, by which the liberty of the Press ceased, the Chambers were dissolved, a new Parliament was summoned, and the franchise was altered by raising the property qualification.

This was the last straw; the imminence of revolution was obvious to the outside world, but not to Charles X. The Government was absolutely unprepared, having only a small force of untried men on which to rely in case of danger. A few deputies began the trouble by protesting against the King's action; and they were followed by a group of journalists under the young Thiers,† who

* François Pierre Guillaume Guizot (1787–1874); published *Nouveau Dictionnaire des Synonymes* 1809; an essay on the fine arts 1811; a translation of Gibbon 1812; appointed general director of departmental administration 1816; together with other writers published *Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France jusqu'au 13me Siècle*, and *Mémoirs relatifs à la Révolution d'Angleterre;* prominent member of the Opposition 1830; French ambassador 1840; fled to London 1848; returned to Paris 1849; after 1851 published many works, having abandoned politics.

† Louis Adolphe Thiers (1797–1877); called to the Bar 1820; wrote *Histoire de la Révolution Française* 1823–1827; started the *National* 1830; Minister of the Interior 1832; and then Foreign Minister; President of the Council 1836, but resigned; again President and Minister of Foreign Affairs 1840; wrote *Histoire*

was already beginning to play a part in French politics. The real movement, however, would never have been made had it not been for the organization which Cavaignac * had spread among the working class. It was these men who started the street fighting on July 27th; the Hôtel de Ville was captured the next day. The Louvre and Tuileries were attacked on the 29th, and, owing to Marmont's indecision, taken, and most of the troops joined the mob. Charles X. unexpectedly discovered that he had lost Paris, which was occupied by the National Guard under Lafayette. The capital, however, was for the moment really divided into two parties—the one, under Lafayette, avowedly Republican; the other, under the banker Laffitte,† in favour of a revolutionary monarchy. In the end the two coalesced, and, taking no notice of the abdication of Charles in favour of his grandson, the Comte de Chambord, established on August 7th Louis Duke of Orleans as Louis Philippe, King of the French. Charles retained some of his dignity, and, surrounded by a few of the faithful military, retired to the coast, and on August 16th took refuge in England.

Louis Philippe, though named the King of the French, had not been called to that position by any definite demand of the French nation; he owed his exaltation to Talleyrand, Laffitte, and Lafayette. The opposition, which had provoked Charles X. to revive the methods of the old absolute monarchy, contained violent reactionaries as well as Liberals. Even among the Liberals there was a fundamental difference of opinion, which soon divided them into hostile parties. While Guizot and his friends believed that the sovereign power rested upon a contract between king and people, and that the liberties which were secured in the first year of the "July Monarchy" would suffice, another section of Liberals aimed at extending democratic government at home and wished to champion the Liberal cause all over Europe. Many of them held that the foundation of the Government was

du Consulat et de l'Empire 1845–1862; voted for Louis Napoleon 1848; banished 1851; returned 1852; re-entered the Chamber 1863; elected to the National Assembly 1871; suppressed the Commune; elected President of the Republic; resigned 1873; caused the fall of the de Broglie ministry 1877.

* Louis Eugene Cavaignac (1802–1857).

† Jacques Laffitte (1769–1844); governor of the Bank of France 1814; founded a discount bank in 1837; President of the Chamber of Deputies in 1843.

popular sovereignty, and that the monarchy was no more than an expedient. Much, therefore, depended on the view taken by the monarch himself of his rights and position. Louis Philippe was of middle age ; a genial and unpretending gentleman, connected by tradition with the first Revolution. He had few illusions, but had learnt to rely upon his own tact and judgment. For the sake of power he was willing —to forego all the trappings of the old monarchy. He was determined to be head of the State in fact, but quite ready, as a preliminary, to make large concessions. He immediately issued a new Constitution, under which the Press was to be free, the Roman Catholic Church was to have no privileges, the deputies were to be elected for five years, and the King was not to suspend the law, appoint tribunals, or use mercenaries. At first there seemed a likelihood of the Powers refusing to accept this extraordinary action of the French people, but the days of the Holy Alliance had really passed away ; and although Lord Aberdeen threatened to apply the Treaty of Chaumont, and Metternich spoke of it as "a difficult task, but one of supreme necessity," neither the King of Prussia nor the Emperor of Austria was eager to renew a system which had become obsolete ; nor was the Russian minister Nesselrode any more anxious, though the Czar Nicholas would have welcomed a second Revolutionary war, which left him with "a free hand in the East." There is no doubt that Louis Philippe hardly understood the difficulty of the situation. He had been raised to the throne by the Parisian mob, but it would be hazardous for him to obey the wishes of his people, who were anxious to restore the glories of France and to re-obtain much that had been lost in 1815. Talleyrand saw far more clearly that the policy of France should be directed to play upon the jealousies of the different Powers and so break up the long-existing alliance between England, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, and thereby liberate France from that position of isolation into which she had been forced for the last fifteen years. To work both policies was no easy game for the newly-appointed King of the French.

Louis Philippe was largely assisted by the disunion of his enemies, and by means of Lafayette he succeeded in ruling with peace and order for the first few months. He had hoped to govern through a Cabinet composed of the different parties

that had brought him to power ; but this proved unworkable, as the members quarrelled between themselves. The mob thirsted for blood and repeatedly demanded the execution of Polignac and his colleagues. The King and his councillors were determined to save them if possible, but one expedient failed after another. The continual riots became daily more dangerous, and on October 17th and 18th the Parisian mob, having invaded the Palais Royale, attacked Vincennes, where Polignac and his companions were detained, and their lives were only saved by the pluck of the wounded veteran General Daumesnil.* This rioting brought about the resignation of such moderate ministers as Guizot, Broglie,† Casimir Perier,‡ Molé,§ and Dupin ‖ ; while Laffitte became President of a Cabinet of progressives, with a minority in the Chambers. The actual struggle between the Government and the mob of Paris came in the trial of Polignac and the ministers in December. The lust for blood was unappeased, and the "July Monarchy" was much endangered by the growing unpopularity of Lafayette, who withstood the desires of the people. The matter, however, was concluded by smuggling the ex-ministers out of Paris to places of confinement, and the mob pacified itself by an attack upon the peers. But Louis Philippe found that he had escaped this difficulty by the loss of much prestige, and that he was still more indebted to Lafayette. He was liberated from this, however, by Lafayette regarding himself insulted and resigning his office. One more instrument of the past had to be got rid of before Louis could feel tolerably free. Jacques Laffitte was an idealist, and as such was neither in touch with the people nor with the man he had raised to the throne. The unrest at home and the position of the Powers abroad had proved too much for a man who, though a good financier, was not a statesman. He found that he was liable to slights from his master and suspicion from the people, and in his wrath he retired. He was suc-

* Pierre Daumesnil, Baron (1777–1832).

† Achille Charles Léonce Victor, Duc de Broglie (1785–1870) ; Foreign Secretary 1832–34 ; Prime Minister 1835–36 ; lived in retirement after 1851.

‡ Casimir Perier (1777–1832) ; banker and statesman.

§ Matthieu Louis, Comte Molé (1781–1855) ; wrote *Essai de Morale et de la Politique* 1806 ; Minister of Marine under Louis XVIII. ; Foreign Minister under Louis Philippe ; Prime Minister 1836.

‖ A. M. J. J. Dupin (1783–1865).

ceeded by Casimir Perier in March, 1831, and Louis Philippe, after this temporary compromise with the popular leaders, was in a position to discard them and to found the dual tradition of the "July Monarchy": resistance to revolution at home and non-intervention abroad.

The King was not yet freed from difficulty, for the immediate reaction was met by formidable rebellions in Lyons and Grenoble, which had to be suppressed by the Minister of War, Marshal Soult. In Casimir Perier he had found a minister who was strong and honest, but, unfortunately, in March, 1832, he was carried off by cholera, and was succeeded in office by the Comte de Montalivet. In the west the Duchess of Berry roused the Legitimists to revolt. In November, 1832, she was arrested, and the cause of the Bourbons was discredited by her secret marriage with the Italian Count Lucchesi Palli. A more formidable rebellion took place in June, 1832, when a Republican demonstration was made at the funeral of General Lamarque.* Had it not been for the prompt action of Soult the "July Monarchy" would have been seriously endangered. On the other hand, Louis Philippe had distinct advantages at this time. Austria had always had a hold on France in the person of the Duke of Reichstadt, son of Napoleon I., but he died on July 22nd. At the same time Soult became President of the Council, the Duc de Broglie accepted the Foreign Office, and Guizot was made Minister of Public Instruction. Above all, Thiers, who had now made a brilliant reputation as a journalist, was appointed a minister of France at the age of thirty-five. Fresh troubles, however, arose. The taxes were increased enormously, not only for buildings and fortifications, but also to support the recently created *Zouaves* and *Chasseurs d'Afrique* for the protection of Algiers. These burdens caused a fresh outbreak in Lyons in 1834, which led to much bloodshed. The unpopularity of Louis Philippe was also shown by an attempt on his life by Fieschi,† a native of Corsica, who failed in his murderous design upon the King, but killed Marshal Mortier ‡ and seven others. In 1835 stricter measures were taken, and the harsh

* Maximilien, Comte Lamarque (1770–1832).

† Joseph Fieschi (1790–1836).

‡ E. A. C. J. Mortier, Duc de Trevise (1768–1835).

"laws of September," for the punishment of political offenders, did not improve the feeling towards the King or his ministers. The Government appeared strong enough, but there were internal quarrels, which reached a climax in the spring of 1836, when Guizot and Broglie retired, defeated on a question of the budget, and Thiers became President of the Council and Foreign Minister. The parties in the Chamber were by this time clearly defined. On the Right was a small section headed by the brilliant orator Berryer ; Guizot led the Right Centre ; the Left was under Odilon Barrot,* while Thiers was at the head of the Left Centre. The latter was not to remain in power for long, because, after forcing Switzerland to banish political refugees and demanding intervention in Spain, Louis Philippe dismissed him in September, and the office of President fell to the Comte Molé.

On the death of Charles X., Louis Napoleon, son of the late King of Holland, made a futile rising at Strasburg in October, but his colleagues were acquitted, and he himself, after an enforced visit to America, soon returned to Switzerland. France was undoubtedly in a state of unrest, and the factious spirits of her rulers did not help to allay this trouble. In 1839 the three other parties combined against the Right and overthrew the ministry, but their hopes of obtaining office were shattered by the outbreak of socialist troubles, which were caused by the society called *Les Saisons*, headed by Bernard and Barbés.† The revolt was soon crushed, but the King seized the opportunity of once again placing Marshal Soult in power. In 1840 the Chambers refused for a second time to grant any settlement for the Duc de Nemours, and Marshal Soult was obliged to give place to Thiers on March 1st. At the same time Guizot was sent to London as ambassador at a very critical moment. The Powers had intervened, with an appearance of unanimity, in the disputes (described elsewhere) in which the Sultan of Turkey had been involved with his formidable lieutenant, Mehemet Ali. France, however, refused to join in coercing Mehemet Ali. The French people had been interested, since the time of Napoleon's expedition, in the Egyptian question ; they had designs on North Africa, and some of their statesmen were

* Camille Hyacinthe Odilon Barrot (1791–1873).

† Armand Barbés, born 1810 ; French colonel, socialist and anti-clerical.

anxious to effect a secret settlement of the dispute, which would protect Mehemet Ali and increase French prestige in the Eastern Mediterranean. The discovery of these intentions led England to join the other Powers in a separate agreement, which was bitterly resented in France. Louis Philippe wisely resisted the aggressive policy of Thiers, and in October replaced him by a ministry in which the Foreign Minister, Guizot, adopted a more pacific attitude.

That there were internal dangers as well as external was shown by Louis Napoleon's attempt to raise a rebellion at Boulogne. He was captured, and this time his sentence was more severe than after his Strasburg revolt. He was condemned to perpetual imprisonment at Ham, from which six years later he escaped to England. Thiers' ministry had not been successful, and, after another attempt on Louis Philippe's life by Darmés, the ministry resigned, and Guizot took over the Premiership and Foreign Office, though Soult was nominally at the head of affairs. By 1843 the popular discontent was at its height, and the Guizot rule was much discredited. The English consul Pritchard had been arrested by a French admiral at Tahiti. The French Government agreed to pay compensation in money, thereby irritating the sensitive pride of France. Then, too, the unpopular Duc de Nemours had been appointed regent for the infant children of the beloved Duc d'Orléans, who had been killed in a carriage accident on July 13th, 1842.

In the meantime the example of France in July, 1830, had been copied in most of the countries of Europe. As far as Great Britain was concerned, the French Revolution of 1830 had the effect of encouraging democratic feeling and unrest. This took the shape of increasing the demands for reform, which had for nearly a hundred years been made in vain. General discontent and disorder, rick-burning, murder, and intimidation succeeded. The anti-reformers were obliged to give way, partly through fear of worse things, and partly because of lessons learnt from the French; and Lord Grey carried his Reform Bill in 1832.

In other countries the effect of the Revolution was far more serious, and certainly more apparent. In Holland and Belgium the French excesses had an extraordinarily interesting result. The Congress of Vienna of 1815 had, without

any great justice, united these two contiguous countries. Its members had paid more attention to the need for precautions against another aggressive movement on the part of France than to the wishes of the inhabitants of the territories of which they were disposing. The Dutch were for the most part Calvinists, and had a great and noble Calvinistic history behind them. By the Congress they were united to the Roman Catholics of Belgium, who had for so long continued under Hapsburg rule and had failed to throw off the shackles of dependence. The clergy of both parties easily found reasons for quarrels and recriminations in the secular education and equality that was granted to both sects. Even the trading instincts of the two peoples were not the same, for the Dutch had ever been traders and voyagers, while the Belgians confined their energies to manufacture. Then, too, there were financial and linguistic causes of ill-feeling, for the Belgians had to bear the burden of half the national debt of Holland, while they felt insulted by the Dutch language being decreed national and official on October 26th, 1822. The Dutch population, though much less than the Belgian, was represented in the Assembly by an equal number of deputies and needed only the support of a few Belgian officials to form a majority. The Revolution in July in Paris caused a similar revolt in Brussels; unpopular ministers were attacked; a national guard was formed; the Government practically acknowledged itself incapable of keeping order; and other towns, such as Verviers, followed the example of the capital. Legislative independence was promised by King William, but the people, finding themselves duped, rose again and drove back Prince Frederick, King William's second son, from his attack on Brussels. By October matters had reached such a crisis that the independence of Belgium was proclaimed, and the House of Orange was said to have forfeited its rights. This state of affairs was more than could be tolerated by the other Powers of Europe, and out of this purely domestic question there was every likelihood of another European war. The Belgian question aroused the interests of Europe, for it was generally feared that the French might endeavour to annex Belgium, which had been part of France during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic period. Any chance of war was, however, dissi-

pated by several circumstances. In the first place, Louis Philippe was wise enough to refuse the offer of the Belgian crown made to his son, the Duc de Nemours, while he gratified public opinion by threatening Prussia with retaliation if she interfered forcibly. Secondly, though it was only natural to expect the Czar to throw in his lot with the House of Orange, at this moment such a course was quite impossible, as Russia had her hands full in crushing the revolt in Poland. Meanwhile, Talleyrand convinced the Duke of Wellington and the English Government of the pacific intentions of France. The two last of the Great Powers had no desire to intervene in the affairs of Belgium, for Prussia had her own interests to guard along the Rhine; while Austria, under Metternich, had to combat the approach of revolutionary principles in Italy and Poland. A great European outbreak being thus averted, it was agreed at a conference in London, under the leadership of Talleyrand, that Belgium should be an independent State under a monarch of her own. The boundaries of Belgium did not include Luxemburg and Maestricht. This aroused violent indignation, and led to further negotiations. By an agreement reached on June 4th, 1831, Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg was elected King, and more favourable terms were conceded to Belgium. Luxemburg was to remain *in statu quo*. In addition, it was guaranteed, contrary to the original proposals of December, that Belgium was to be responsible only for the debt which she bore at the time of the union and for a portion of that which had been contracted since 1815. The Dutch naturally disliked these articles, and, having taken up arms, defeated Leopold at Tirlemont on August 11th. The wishes of the conference had, however, to be enforced, and Marshal Gérard * was sent by the French Government, while an English fleet entered the Scheldt. Another conference was held in London, and fresh articles were then issued on October 15th. By that it was declared that Limburg on the Meuse was to go to Holland, while Walloon-Luxemburg was to be given to Belgium. The financial

* Etienne Maurice, Comte Gérard (1773–1852); general of brigade after Austerlitz 1805; fought at Jena, Erfurt, Wagram, Moscow campaign, and at Ligny and Wavre; drove the Dutch out of Flanders 1831; marshal under Louis Philippe.

settlement was altered, and it was now decided that Belgium should pay 8,400,000 florins per annum towards the debt.* The Czar Nicholas, who had always been friendly to William of Orange, did not accept the new terms until May, 1832 ; but the Dutch King would not give way even when he had lost his only ally. Great Britain was therefore forced to take strong measures, and blockaded the ports of Holland, while Marshal Gérard seized Antwerp, forcing Chassé, its commander, after a plucky defence, to give way in December. By May of the following year King William entered upon a preliminary treaty, but it was not until six years later that he consented to a final agreement, which was the natural outcome of the peaceful and constitutional government Leopold had bestowed upon a hitherto distracted country.

The reason why Nicholas had not taken more definite steps when appealed to by William of Orange was, as has been stated, because of his own difficulties in Poland. That nation had been once again created a kingdom by the Congress of Vienna, as a direct outcome of the really generous feeling that filled the heart of Alexander I. up to 1820. But the success of the experiment was endangered from the first. Memories of the three partitions made the Poles hard to conciliate, and the Constitution contained language of which the Government availed itself, when friction arose, to annul the reforms which had been granted. The weakness of the Polish Nationalists lay in the absence of any democratic element. By the nation they understood not the whole people, but the landowning and upper classes. Before Alexander's death, on December 1st, 1825, the Government had proceeded some way in the direction of reaction. The Press was subjected to the censorship, and the secret societies, which sprang up in all directions, were combated by the use of unconstitutional tribunals and arbitrary sentences. Alexander's successor, Nicholas I., had to face a difficult situation. His brother Constantine had resigned his claim to the throne in 1822, but his decision had not been made public. The opportunity was seized by the secret societies, which aimed, some at a Constitutional Monarchy, some at a Slavonic Federation. Their risings, both in St. Petersburg

* By the Treaty of London, May 19, 1839, this sum was reduced to 5,000,000 florins.

and in the south, were suppressed, and, by the Czar's instructions, an investigation was made into the connection between the societies of Russia and those of Poland. The Czar was, before all things, a Nationalist ; he strongly supported the old national institutions and the Greek Church, and for this reason he insisted on all the children of Russian parentage being educated in the old faith. But what was equally disturbing to the Poles, he commanded that the Russian language was to be taught in the Polish provinces. The news of the July Revolution in France inflamed the Poles, and in November, 1830, they burst into revolt. The residence of the viceroy at Warsaw was attacked, and Constantine fled to join the Russian forces. It seemed that, in a moment, Poland was free. Chlopicki,* a Napoleonic soldier of great reputation, took command of the army, but he was not staunch, for he disliked the people, and was rather a politician than a soldier. He relied too much on diplomacy, and was ultimately ready to make terms with the Czar. At the head of the Polish Government was Adam Czartoryski, a survivor of the ancient royal house of Jagellon. His task was difficult, for he was torn hither and thither by the division of parties. Some clamoured angrily for extreme measures, whilst others were equally timorous and dreaded the alienation of Prussia and Russia. In February, 1831, Diebitsch, with an army of 114,000 men and 336 guns, marched against Praga and Warsaw. Chlopicki resigned, and his place was taken by Radzivil.† The Russian general was foiled time and again, until he died in June, 1831, of cholera. He was succeeded on June 16th by Paskievitsch, who, altering the plan of campaign, determined to march round Warsaw and take it in the rear. In the meantime quarrels and divisions among the Poles brought about the resignation of Czartoryski, and the democratic party placed in his stead the ambitious General Krukoviecki, who gave the chief command of the Polish army to Malachovski. This assisted Paskievitsch to carry out his plans ; and on September 8th Warsaw capitulated. It now only needed the fall of Cracow to General Rüdiger ‡ on September 28th, and

* Joseph Chlopicki (1771–1854); made general by Emperor Alexander; died in exile at Cracow.

† A. H. Radzivil (1775–1833); diplomatist and musician.

‡ Fedor Rüdiger (1780–1856).

the capture of the fortresses of Modlin and Zamose in October, to convert the kingdom of Poland into a Russian province. The Czar, hoping to win the good-will of his people and allay the evidences of sympathy among the Powers, allowed a certain show of autonomy by the Organic Statute promulgated on February 14th, 1832; and offered an amnesty to those who had pluckily struggled for liberty. As the world afterwards saw, and the Poles quickly realized, it was a mockery, for 80,000 patriots found themselves hurried off to the horrors of a life-long imprisonment in Siberia. During the next twenty-five years the viceroy, Paskievitsch, steadily crushed the political and national independence of the kingdom of Poland.

It is not surprising that the revolution in Paris caused much political unrest in Germany, where the Metternich system could but foster the principles of revolt. In September, 1830, the Liberal movement began by the expulsion of Duke Charles from Brunswick and the selection of his brother William to take his place. During the next two years there were continual signs of disturbance in Hanover; while in 1831 the people of Saxony and Hesse Cassel succeeded in extorting Liberal Constitutions from their rulers. Metternich watched the troubles with the gravest interest, and, fearing lest a similar Liberal programme might be brought forward in Hungary, took the precaution in 1832 of confirming the Carlsbad Decrees. He forbade all popular assemblies, and in the full spirit of the old Holy Alliance promised military assistance to any Government threatened by revolution. So obvious was the danger to the sovereigns from this growing discontent, which, indeed, did not reach its height for another fifteen years, that they met together to discuss the situation. Thus in 1833 the Czar, the Emperor of Austria, and the Crown Prince of Prussia entered into the famous league of Münchengrätz to settle the Eastern question by concerted action and to uphold the right of sovereigns to summon foreign aid in the case of domestic difficulties. As an outcome of this conference, in September Metternich also called a conference at Vienna to define more clearly the attitude of the Powers to their enemy, the spirit of revolution. It was agreed that the sovereigns were to do their utmost to defend themselves from the ever-increasing encroachments of the Chambers, and

that if the action of the "people" went too far, every sovereign would be justified in using force to suppress popular demands. It was also well understood, not only in Germany but also in France, that one of the main incitements to revolution was to be found in the professors and students of the universities. These Metternich insisted should be watched with the greatest care. In addition to the universities, the Press was regarded as even a more serious danger, and the sovereigns in conference agreed that it must be at least kept under, if not entirely suppressed. And, lastly, they came to the conclusion that a way out of their difficulties would be to form a court by which cases might be decided which arose between sovereigns and their Estates.

Liberal movements similar to those which were agitating the Great Powers penetrated into the cantons of Switzerland. Before the news of the French Revolution the oligarchy in Tessin had been overthrown. Zurich began at once to reform, and a grand council was elected by the country districts and the towns, the latter electing one-third of the whole. Berne resigned its autocratic privileges, and, together with Zurich, Lucerne, St. Gallen, Thugau, Aargau, and Solothurn, in March, 1832, formed themselves into a league called *Siebener-Concordat*, with the purpose of remaining united until the Constitution had been reformed and their liberties guaranteed. Against this, Uri, Unterwalden, Valais, and Neufchatel formed a Conservative and Roman Catholic League under the title of *Sarner Bund*. In 1834, the *Sarner Bund* attacked the *Siebener-Concordat*. The Liberals were successful, and in the autumn the Catholic League was dissolved.

"Of all European countries," according to Metternich, Italy was "the one which had the greatest tendency towards revolution." The Italian Peninsula had long been the home of secret societies, such as the *Centri* in Mantua, the *Raggi* in Bologna, the *Massoneria* in Upper Italy, the *Anti Eugeniani* in Milan, but, above all, of the *Carbonari*, originating in Naples. This latter society was the most influential and most widely-spread. In its origin it had been a society of landlords, soldiers, provincials, lawyers, and the middle class, but it came to be a society anxious to overthrow all political and social affairs. Besides these there was the party of

moderate Liberals, who did not wish for anarchy, but merely desired a substitution of constitutional checks for autocracy. In 1831 the conspirators against Austria included Francis VI. of Modena, but he, in February, turned against his colleagues, and, being forced to fly, Modena was declared an independent State. The election of Gregory XVI. in the same month afforded an opportunity for a rising in the Papal States. Bologna, Romagna, and Umbria threw off their allegiance, and in March were joined by the two sons of the late King of Holland. The eldest died at Forli on March 17th, and thus opened the way for the adventurous career of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. At the same time Parma revolted from Marie Louise, and she fled to her old home in Austria. Her countrymen soon restored order, much to the disgust of the revolutionists in Paris, who had hoped that Louis Philippe would throw in his lot with the insurgents ; but Casimir Perier contented himself with sending a regiment to Ancona, a sufficient intimation that the affairs of Central Italy could not be settled by Austria alone. In Naples Ferdinand II., who had succeeded his father Francis in 1830, pacified Liberal tendencies by the offer of a moderate system of government. Sardinia remained quiet. Charles Albert, who succeeded Charles Felix in April, 1831, was mistrusted by Austria and by his own subjects.

The troubles in Portugal were dynastic, and had indeed started before the July Revolution of 1830. When John VI. died in 1826, his son, Pedro I. of Brazil, was forbidden by the Constitution of the Western kingdom to succeed to the throne of his ancestors. He therefore devised that his daughter Donna Maria should become Queen of Portugal, which was carried out by the help of English troops against the opposition of her uncle, Dom Miguel. The army had been sent by Canning, and illustrated the capacity of his judgment and his determination to support Portugal against aggression. He knew that by the treaties of 1661, 1703, and 1815 Great Britain was bound to defend Portugal against invasion, and he judged it the duty of England to carry out those treaties when asked. Five thousand troops were therefore ordered for active service in Portugal. The resolution to assist Portugal was only formed in the Cabinet on December 9th ; it was approved by the King on the 10th,

Parliament was informed on the 11th, and on the evening of the 12th the troops were marching to embark. When, however, the army was recalled during the premiership of the Duke of Wellington, Dom Miguel seized the throne. Pedro I. in 1832 was obliged to abdicate in favour of his son Pedro II., and espoused the cause of his daughter, who was again supported by the Whigs in power in England. In the following year, through the assistance of Charles Napier, the cause of Pedro and his daughter began to make some headway. A party of British was landed by Napier at Villa Real on June 24th and conquered the province of Algarve. He himself utterly defeated the navy of Dom Miguel off Cape St. Vincent on July 5th, and after a battle near Lisbon Donna Maria was able to enter her capital. By means of the Quadruple Alliance of France, England, Spain, and Portugal the cause of Dom Miguel was rendered hopeless in 1834. The allies ordered the Spanish general Rodil to cross the frontier, and Dom Miguel concluded the Treaty of Evoramente on May 26th, renounced his rights, accepted a pension, and agreed to leave the country.

The greatest and most barbarous civil war of modern times was going on in Spain while Dom Miguel was making his claims in Portugal. In 1829 Ferdinand VII. had married for his fourth queen Maria Christina of Naples. He determined to throw over the Salic law, as established for the succession of the Spanish throne by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, and proclaimed his infant daughter Isabella as his heir. Don Carlos, the King's brother, protested bitterly against this attack upon his rights, and on the whole the Church raised its voice in his favour. On September 29th, 1833, Ferdinand died, and Isabella was declared Queen, with Maria Christina as regent. She was obliged to rely upon the Liberal party under Martinez de la Rosa. Her difficulties were very great, not the least being the fact that it was almost impossible to find an honest politician in Madrid. In the spring of 1834 Spain allied with Portugal, England, and France, and, by means of this Quadruple Alliance, Christina hoped to gain considerable support for her daughter. The Alliance succeeded in dismissing Dom Miguel, but Don Carlos only retired to England for a few weeks, and in July returned to support his cause. The Carlists in the north had maintained

the upper hand by means of the famous Zumalacarregui,* who was beloved by his soldiers, worshipped by his subordinate officers, and respected by his enemies. In April, 1835, this dashing leader won a victory over Christina's followers in the valley of Amacoas, which left open to him the main road to Madrid. Don Carlos would not allow him to proceed, and he turned his attention to Bilbao, where, it is thought, he was poisoned. The war was now undertaken by the ruthless, but wonderful, Cabrera,† a name that is still a household word. In the meantime the Queen-mother had appealed to England and France for help, and the former allowed the embarkation of the English Legion, which consisted of volunteers. In 1836 Lord Palmerston again attempted to persuade France to interfere, but Thiers definitely refused.

During the summer of 1836 a moderate government was in power. In August the dissolution of the Cortes led to an insurrection, and the progressive Liberals compelled Christina to establish the Constitution of 1812. The Powers of Europe could no longer assist the Queen-mother, and their ambassadors were withdrawn from Madrid; while in June, 1837, the English Legion under De Lacy Evans, which had been enlisted with the sanction of the Government, left Spain. The unwillingness of France to co-operate with Great Britain brought about severely strained relations, and Palmerston found himself as isolated from the councils of Europe as Wellington had been sixteen years before. The cause of Isabella was still upheld by General Espartero,‡ who in 1839 forced the Basque Provinces to acknowledge the Queen; and Don Carlos, weary of the struggle, renounced his rights in favour of his son, and finally retired to Trieste, where he died in 1855. In the year 1840 Espartero was proclaimed regent in place of Christina, who had retired to France; but, though supported by Great Britain, the general's rule did not last

* Tomas Zumalacarregui (1789–1835); fought against Napoleon; dismissed from the army 1832; head of the Basque rising 1833.

† Ramond N. Cabrera, Count of Morella (1810–77); led Carlists 1833–40, and 1848–49.

‡ Baldomero Espartero (1792–1879); fought against the insurgents in South America; created Duke of Vittoria 1836; Regent 1840; resigned 1843; head of the Government 1854; supplanted by O'Donnell 1856; proposed for the throne 1870; tendered his allegiance to Alfonso 1875.

for long, and in 1843 he was forced to retire to London. The moderate Liberals, with Narvaez * at their head, immediately restored Christina, and French influence remained predominant until the "Affair of the Spanish Marriages" in 1846.

Within the period of the 1830 revolutions may be placed the important struggle between Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, and his suzerain, the Sultan of Turkey. After the struggle with the Greeks, and after that "untoward event" of the battle of Navarino, Turkey was in an extremely weak state. She was no longer of that importance which had made the whole of Europe rejoice at every victory over the Crescent. It was, therefore, imperative for the Turks, if they wished to obtain strength and conciliate Europe, to adopt the civilized methods and reforms of the West. No one recognized this better than the Sultan, Mahmoud II., who, immediately after the settlement of the Treaty of Adrianople, prepared to put himself at the head of the reformers. On the surface he appeared to have every chance of success, for any discontent on the part of the army had been foreseen and forestalled by the massacre of the Janissaries. He was at the same time supported by two capable ministers, Khosrew and Reshid Pashas, and behind everything was his own indomitable will and character. But the stern adherence to the Turkish religion and the incongruous position of Mahomedans in Europe made his work ineffective. The grievances of the Christian population formed the most frequent pretext for foreign intervention. Mahmoud tried to deprive the Powers of this pretext by doing away with the civil distinctions between the members of the different faiths.

One of the chief incentives for Mahmoud's reforms was that he clearly understood the restless activity of his nominal subject, Mehemet Ali. He had made himself master of Egypt by ruthlessly massacring the Mamelukes, and had then extended his conquests to Nubia and Kordofan, establishing Khartum as the capital of Egyptian Soudan. His schemes in the north, in which he had been ably assisted by his son

* Ramon Maria Narvaez (1800–68); routed Carlist general Gomez, near Arcos, 1836; fled to France 1840; made Duke of Valencia 1844; overthrown 1846, but lived to be Prime Minister on three other occasions.

Ibrahim, had been checked by the intervention of the European Powers in the Greek War. Emboldened, however, by his success, and regarding the Sultan as deeply in his debt, he demanded the pashaliks of Syria and Damascus. This the Sultan refused, and thus aroused the smouldering wrath of Mehemet Ali. In 1832 he pretended to have been insulted by Abdallah Pasha of Acre, and under this pretext sent Ibrahim with 30,000 men to invade Syria. He reiterated the fact that he was still a loyal subject of the Sultan, and he understood very well that the slow movements of diplomacy might give him time to accomplish his ends, with which he trusted the Powers would not find it necessary to interfere. Ibrahim moved with rapidity, and on May 27th Abdallah capitulated at Acre, which was followed on June 10th by the fall of Damascus Having carried his campaign still further afield, Ibrahim defeated the Pasha of Aleppo on two occasions, first at Homs on July 9th and two days later at Hama. Mahmoud was now in the greatest danger, and sent a large Turkish army with Hussein Pasha to dispute the way with the triumphant Ibrahim. This the Turkish general was unable to do, and was utterly crushed at Beilan, thus allowing Ibrahim to cross the Taurus mountains. The Powers were for the most part deeply engaged in their own affairs at home, but Russia, ever watching proceedings at Constantinople, now magnanimously offered assistance. Before refusing or accepting this offer, Mahmoud dispatched the tried soldier, Reshid Pasha, against Ibrahim, but he was defeated and taken prisoner at Konieh, the ancient Iconium, on December 21st. It was now clear to the world that Constantinople itself was threatened, and at the very moment of supreme danger Count Muravieff arrived with fresh offers of help. Mahmoud, between the devil and the deep sea, was obliged to accept the terms of Russia. All the Western Powers regarded this unnatural alliance with suspicion and even dread. In February, 1833, Ibrahim had reached Broussa. At the request of the Sultan the Russian fleet now appeared before Constantinople, but so strongly did Admiral Roussin* make representations to the Porte that the Russians were ordered to withdraw. This encouraged Ibrahim to advance as far as Scutari, which caused a fresh appearance of a Russian force, which was

* A. R. Roussin, Baron (1781–1854).

landed at Buyukdere and Therapia. Both Great Britain and France were now thoroughly alarmed by Russia's intervention, and a combined squadron of men-of-war was dispatched to the Archipelago. In the meantime Lord Ponsonby and Admiral Roussin persuaded the Sultan to make terms with Ibrahim, who was very willing to accept them, as he did not wish to come in contact with the forces of Russia. It was therefore agreed on May 5th, at the Convention of Kiutayeh, that Ibrahim should hold both the governorship of Syria and of the district of Adana, by which he could command the defiles of the Taurus mountains; but that the greater part of Asia Minor should be restored to the Porte. This agreement, largely due to British and French intervention, was most pleasing to Russia, for it was a practical example of the violation of Turkish integrity. Russia wished that Turkey should be weakened, and certainly the other Powers had not strengthened her by their interference. The price of Russia's assistance was made clear when Europe learnt the details of the alliance contracted on July 8th, when the Sultan and the Czar bound themselves for eight years in the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi. By this treaty Russia could, during that period, use armed intervention in the affairs of Turkey, and by a secret clause, soon made public, the Dardanelles were closed to all ships of war except those of the Czar. The British and French ambassadors protested in St. Petersburg, and Palmerston used violent language; but Nicholas knew that in neither England nor France was there a war party to convert threats into blows. The Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi marks the beginning of a period during which Russia and England watched one another's movements with increasing suspicion, and Europe contemplated with redoubled anxiety the prospect of the dissolution of the Turkish Empire.

For the actual rivalry between the two countries there were other reasons besides this Turkish question. The Russian Empire now began to creep south in Central Asia and threatened the spread of the dominions of Great Britain in India. The problem of the Russian advance was, however, only in its infancy, and beginning to exercise the minds of the statesmen and diplomatists of both countries. In the year after the treaty there still seemed some chance of cordiality

between Great Britain and Russia, when the former was under the guidance of the Peel-Wellington administration. But the distrust that had been engendered, together with the shortness of Peel's premiership, checked the renewal of good feeling. When Melbourne became Premier in April, 1835, the Foreign Office was under the superintendence of Lord Palmerston. He took upon himself to champion the "oppressed peoples," and declared himself openly and strongly against Russian aggression. This attitude of the Foreign Minister of Great Britain encouraged the other Powers to stand aloof. The Czar had not forgotten the alliance of the July Monarchy and William IV. in connection with the revolution in Belgium, and he welcomed Metternich's invitation to the conference at Münchengrätz, which drew together the three Powers of Russia, Austria, and Prussia. The three Powers recognized "the right of every independent sovereign to summon to his assistance, whether in the internal or external difficulties of his country, any other independent sovereign whom he shall deem best able to assist him." Amongst the many other questions discussed at this memorable conference was the one that dealt with the exact attitude of Russia and Austria to each other and the world, if, by any circumstances, the Ottoman Empire were dismembered. Nicholas, by this time, was not anxious for the actual destruction of Turkey, for after much persuasion he had come to see that a weak power along his southern frontier was far better than the reformation of that territory under a strong man. This being his attitude, there seemed a chance of an alliance with Great Britain. By the year 1836, owing to events in Portugal and Spain, the break-up of the Anglo-French understanding did not seem to present any considerable difficulties. But as a check there came, in 1838, the first cry of Russia's advance on India by way of Herat; whilst it was also proved that Russia was intriguing in Persia. Both these stories the Czar Nicholas did his best to contradict by means of his able ambassador, Baron Brunnow.*

In June, 1839, the Sultan imagined that he was ready to strike a blow against his rebellious vassal, Mehemet Ali. Mehemet's power was based upon a kind of State socialism;

* Philipp E., Count von Brunnow (1797–1875); entered the service of the Czar 1818.

he had developed a system of Government monopolies. At these the Sultan struck by a commercial treaty with England which applied to all parts of the Turkish Empire, including Egypt. At the same time, with the assistance of European officers, amongst whom was the afterwards celebrated Moltke,* he had completed the reorganization of his army, which he imagined would easily be a match for any that Ibrahim might bring against it. War was declared on June 24th, and the Turks under Hafiz Pasha poured into Syria. The success of Mehemet Ali was even more complete than it had been six years before. Ibrahim utterly crushed the invaders at Nezib, a village on the Euphrates ; and the hopes of Turkey were still further dashed on June 30th by the sudden death of the aged Sultan, Mahmoud II. Very little could be expected from his successor, Abd-ul-Medjid, who was a feeble and dissolute youth of seventeen years of age. A fresh calamity was immediately reported, for the Turkish admiral, Achmet Pasha, deserted with his fleet and joined the cause of Mehemet Ali at Alexandria. It was now full time for the Powers to intervene if Russia were to be prevented from taking advantage of the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi. All the Powers were anxious to prevent this, but their agreement ended here. France threw in her lot with Mehemet Ali, and endeavoured to persuade Great Britain that it was the only way to resist the aggression of the Czar. But Nicholas had been steadily working for some time to show to the British Foreign Minister that French advance and increased power in the Mediterranean was far more dangerous than any assistance that Russia might afford to the youthful Sultan. By means of Baron Brunnow, Nicholas offered the most tempting terms, and stated that the Russians were perfectly willing to join Great Britain in any genuine attempt to settle the affairs of Turkey, and that, if Great Britain desired, the unpopular Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi might be allowed to lapse. Nicholas went even further, and promised that he would not pass the Bosphorus unless called upon by the Powers. Palmerston could not at once accept these terms, and waited to hear from

* Helmuth, Count von Moltke (1800–91); lieutenant in Danish army 1819; entered Prussian army 1822; away from Berlin 1835–39; chief of the General Staff 1858–88; wonderful success in war against Denmark 1863–64, and again in the Austrian war 1866; and in the Franco-Prussian war 1870–71.

France. He waited in vain. Thiers had had his own schemes, and had tried to bring about a secret understanding with the Porte, while at the same time he hoped to preserve Mehemet Ali in his power. France, in common with the other Powers, had agreed to submit the whole question to the judgment of Europe. The discovery of her duplicity led Palmerston to join the Quadruple Alliance, which was signed by Russia, Prussia, Austria, and England at the Conference in London on July 3rd, 1840. It was agreed between the Powers that if Mehemet Ali gave way in reasonable time he should be confirmed in his pashalik of Egypt and should be allowed to retain the government of Southern Syria and Acre. The French nation was infuriated by this "mortal affront," and immediately prepared for war. Louis Philippe, however, learnt that it was wiser to keep the peace, and so dismissed Thiers and formed a Cabinet under Soult, with Guizot as Foreign Minister.

The generous offer of the Powers to Mehemet Ali was not accepted, and as he openly defied them they were obliged to attempt to suppress him. A combined British, Austrian, and Turkish fleet was sent to the Syrian coast, and at their appearance off Beyrout there was a revolt in Syria against the rule of Ibrahim. Beyrout fell on October 3rd; Ibrahim was forced to retire; and Charles Napier took Acre on November 3rd. Mehemet Ali, seeing that it was hopeless to attempt to hold Syria, ordered its evacuation; but found that his other dominions were threatened by Napier at Alexandria on November 25th. He was obliged to resign his claim to Syria on the same day, and on the promise of preserving the pashalik of Egypt he undertook to restore the Sultan's fleet. Even now Guizot did not relinquish his desire to interfere in the settlement of Turkey, and he was not without a supporter in Metternich, who felt that Austria had been placed on one side in the negotiations. They both therefore demanded that Turkey should be placed under the guidance of the five Great Powers. This was contrary to the wishes of Lord Palmerston, who stood out firmly in refusing it; and the question of Turkey was settled for the time being by the "Convention of the Straits," signed in July, 1841, by which the Bosphorus and Dardanelles were closed to the warships of

the Powers. For the next few years the East enjoyed comparative calm, and when Mehemet Ali abdicated in 1844 he was peacefully succeeded in Egypt by his son Ibrahim.

Something like a Concert of the Powers seemed to have been re-established. England, whose independence had marked the ideals of the earlier period, had once more acted in coalition with Russia, Prussia, and Austria, while, nominally, she was still in accord with France. The danger of revolution, strikingly illustrated in 1830, seemed indefinitely postponed. But such optimism was ill-grounded. For the understanding between the Powers had very little in common with the projected Federal system, and the revolution had not been postponed for more than a few years.

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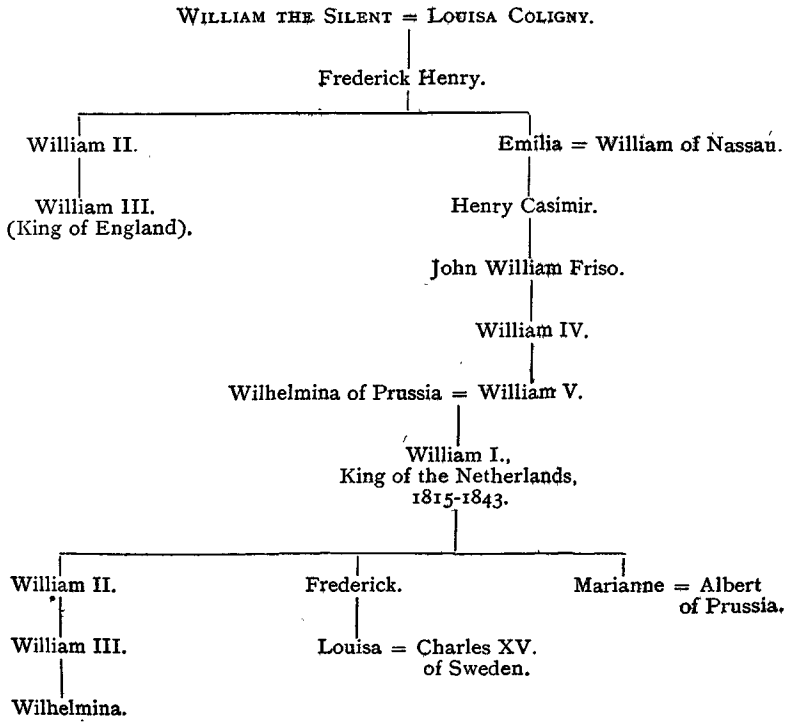
CONTEMPORARY EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

1830. Accession of William IV.
Death of Mr. Huskisson.
Resignation of the Duke of Wellington; Lord Grey became Prime Minister.
1831. Lord John Russell introduced the Reform Bill.
William IV. dissolved Parliament in April; it met again in June.
The Reform Bill passed the Commons, but was thrown out by the Lords.
Riots in Nottingham and Bristol.
Prosecution of William Cobbett.
Tithe riots in Ireland.
1832. The Reform Bill passed.
1833. The reformed Parliament met.
An Affirmation Act for Quakers and Moravians was passed.
The Irish Coercion Act was passed.
The Emancipation of Slaves Act was passed.
Lord Ashley's Factory Act.
The beginning of the Tractarian movement.

CONTEMPORARY EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN—*continued.*

1834. The Poor Law Amendment Act was passed.
Daniel O'Connell proposed the repeal of the Union.
Lord Grey resigned, and was succeeded by Lord Melbourne.
Lord Melbourne was dismissed, and was succeeded by Sir Robert Peel.
1835. Sir Robert Peel resigned, and was succeeded by Lord Melbourne.
The Municipal Reform Act was passed.
1837. Death of William IV.

PEDIGREE OF THE HOUSE OF ORANGE



CHAPTER XI

REVOLUTION AND REACTION

1844–1850

SOME DATES IN THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF GERMANY

1790. Leopold II. quelled the rising in Hungary by concessions, the Belgian revolt by force.
1792. Francis II. became Emperor.
1793. The Second Partition of Poland.
1795. The Third Partition of Poland.
1797. Frederick William III. became King of Prussia.
1803. The reconstruction of the Empire.
1804. Francis II. became Emperor of Austria.
1806. Prussia seized Hanover. The formation of the Confederation of the Rhine.
1807. Formation of the Kingdom of Westphalia.
1808. Stein introduced his reforms in Prussia.
1809. Metternich became Austrian minister.
1810. Foundation of the University of Berlin.
1813. Outburst of patriotism in Prussia.
1814-15. The Congress of Vienna.
1816. The New German Confederation.
1817. The Diet opposed all revolutionary actions.
1818. Improvement in the general welfare of the Prussians.
1819. The Carlsbad Decrees.
1820. The "Final Act" in Vienna for the suppression of Liberal movements.
1821. The Congress of Laybach. The smaller States began to oppose Austria.
1822. The Congress of Verona.
1829-36. The German Zollverein excluding Austria.
1830-32. Political unrest in Brunswick, Saxony, Cassel and the Palatinate.
1832. The renewal of the Carlsbad Decrees.
1833. The meeting at Teplitz.
1834. The meeting at Münchengrätz for the suppression of reform.
1835. Ferdinand I. became Emperor of Austria.
1837. Ernest Augustus became King of Hanover.
1840. Frederick William IV. became King of Prussia.
1845. Opposition to the proposed alteration in the Constitution of the Confederation.
1847. The United Diet summoned at Berlin.
1848. The year of Revolutions.

THE death of the Emperor Francis I. on March 2nd, 1835, caused great changes in Europe. Had that aged ruler been followed by a powerful successor, Russia, under Czar Nicholas I., might still have been kept in a subordinate position; but the new Emperor of Austria, Ferdinand, though not actually mentally deranged, was undoubtedly weak-minded. The able minister Metternich belonged to a past generation, and old age, together with the complications of the increasing rivalry between Prussia and Austria, were

beginning to tell upon his powers of statecraft. The influence of Prussia had been increased between 1830 and 1836 by the admittance of Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, the Thuringian States, Baden, Nassau, and the city of Frankfort into the Zollverein ; thus consolidating the political influence of Prussia in Germany upon purely commercial and material interests. Although Prussia was apparently soon to become supreme in Germany, the King was still under the influence of Russia—an influence which continued after the accession of the romantic, mystic, and somewhat liberal-minded Frederick William IV. Nicholas, however, recognized that if he was to extend his powers he must also have the alliance of Great Britain, which he endeavoured to win by drawing closer the commercial relations of the two countries in 1842. But this good feeling was not likely to last for long, for when the Czar visited England in 1844 his plans were unmasked, and the British minister realized that his ideas with regard to the " sick man " of Turkey might well hasten his dissolution. It was only one more example of the fact that the diplomatic schemes of Russia always caused the English Government concern and mistrust.

Louis Philippe had watched the movement towards reconciliation between Russia and Great Britain with alarm. He recognized that, if a firm alliance should be effected, France would be isolated in the councils of Europe. Queen Victoria and Prince Albert cheered him by a personal visit at the Château D'Eu, but he knew that the Earl of Aberdeen was a good friend to Russia, or, at any rate, a bitter enemy to Turkey, which in this instance might mean the same thing. When, however, in 1844 the Czar had failed to win the confidence of the British, Louis' hopes of cordial relations were again aroused. On the other hand, the actual interests of France and Great Britain were by no means identical, and there were open and avowed causes of disagreement. The "*affaire Pritchard*" had caused some excitement. On September 9th, 1842, Admiral Dupetit-Thouars had signed a treaty with Pomare, Queen of Tahiti, during the absence of the English agent, the missionary, Consul Pritchard. When he returned he influenced the Queen against the French, so that, in March, 1844, Dupetit-Thouars annexed the island and expelled Pritchard.

War almost ensued; but eventually Guizot had to disavow the action of the French admiral, pay compensation to Pritchard, and the "*affaire*" was settled. But a French expedition to Morocco had been regarded with anger, and Lord Aberdeen had threatened, on behalf of Great Britain, that, should the French persist in their efforts to obtain the whole coast line of North-West Africa, war would be inevitable. This was, however, averted by two things. First, the French had to rest content with a victory at Isly and the bombardment of Tangier and Mogador, for they found it impossible to carry on a struggle against Moroccan fanaticism and Algerian resistance. And secondly, Louis Philippe came to England in October, 1845, and with many honeyed phrases won the English people. He was fortunate in the hour of his desired alliance, for when in 1846 the Peel ministry fell, foreign affairs passed into the hands of Lord Palmerston, an ardent antagonist of Russia and Russian diplomacy. The cordiality between the English and the French was thus cemented, but the cement was poor and brittle, and the Spanish matrimonial question brought the good feeling between the two countries rapidly to an end.

In the meantime domestic events in France were hastening Louis to his downfall. From 1840, Guizot had conducted the affairs of the State upon two principles—peace abroad and resistance to reform at home. Apparently the whole of France was cowed, and on the surface Louis Philippe's position seemed unassailable. He failed entirely, however, to realize the economic changes that were beginning to revolutionize French society. The theoretical socialism of St. Simon,* Fourier,† and Louis Blanc was reinforced by discontent due to material distress and by the revived tradition of the first revolution. The watchwords of the people became "The organization of labour" and "The right of every man to work." The future trouble was obviously to be social in character, and would eventually overwhelm the political fabric. Louis Philippe looked only to politics, and, like

* St. Simon (1760–1825). Led a life of varied experience. He and his disciples preached a gospel of reorganization in society. Industry was to be carried on by communities of workers, directed by a class of "Savants" and inspired by Priests or Artists.

† Fourier, a philosophical socialist; believed that society might be organized in voluntary associations inspired with a passion for a special form of production.

George III., believed implicitly in the principle that the King should rule as well as reign. For this reason, supported by a Parliamentary majority under Guizot, Louis threw to the winds all idea of being King of the French, and inaugurated a dynastic policy that in some ways resembled that of his far greater predecessor, Louis XIV. He succeeded for a time in keeping on friendly terms with Great Britain; but his dynastic policy led him to actions which were destined to bring about the rupture of that alliance. Queen Isabella of Spain and her sister Luisa were, by 1846, of marriageable age, and it was proposed that they should be betrothed to French princes. To this Great Britain agreed on condition that the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht were kept and no close family tie between France and Spain was formed. It was agreed between Guizot and Lord Aberdeen that Isabella should marry either Francisco de Asis, Duke of Cadiz, or his brother Henrico, the latter being supported by England. It was also understood that her sister Luisa should espouse the Duc de Montpensier, for whom Louis Philippe wished to obtain a satisfactory settlement. The Queen-Mother Christina, on the other hand, made overtures to Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, to bring about a rupture between England and France, and gain a French matrimonial alliance. When Palmerston succeeded Aberdeen in June, 1846, he continued to support Henrico, and suggested Leopold of Saxe-Coburg as an alternative choice, but agreed that Spain could choose any of the candidates. Guizot seized the pretext to declare that in admitting the Coburg candidature England broke her word. He persuaded Louis Philippe to allow Isabella and Luisa to be married at the same time, on October 10th, 1846, the one to Francisco, and the other to the Duc de Montpensier. This was enough to ruin the good will between Great Britain and France, and, explain as Guizot might, he could not restore the shattered confidence of Lord Palmerston or the British nation. The clever scheme of Louis was almost at once destined to fail. Francisco was well-known to be incapable of having heirs, and in a very short time his place in the royal household was taken by General Serrano,*

* Francisco Serrano, Duke de la Torre (1810–1883); fought against the Carlists; banished 1866; drove out the Queen 1868; Regent till 1870; fought the Carlists 1872 and 1874; Regent for the second time 1874.

and any child born to the Queen would be of doubtful paternity. At the same time British influence was restored at Madrid by Isabella's resentment against France and her espousal of the cause of the progressive party.

An opportunity for Lord Palmerston to revenge himself upon Guizot for his trick was not long in coming, for diplomatic questions now arose out of mere domestic difficulties in Switzerland. In this country the nationalist and democratic party had long been working against the conservative section of Swiss society. But in addition to their political disagreements there was also the perpetual difficulty of religion—the rivalry between Roman Catholicism and the Protestant faith. In the Catholic Cantons, particularly Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden, the Jesuits had become supreme, and were the leaders in all questions of dispute with the Liberal party. In 1839 the Liberals in Zurich had been overthrown owing to their appointment of the heretical David Strauss * to the chair of theology in the university. Two years later, however, they succeeded in suppressing eight of the great monasteries in Aargau; but their triumph was only for the moment, as in the same year the clerical party became supreme in Lucerne. In 1843 Lucerne became head of the "*Sonderbund*," a league of seven Catholic States to resist Radical tendencies. As early as May, 1844, fighting took place in Valais; and on March 31st, 1845, Colonel Ochsenbein † was driven back with considerable bloodshed in his attempt on Lucerne. Revolutions took place in Berne, Basle, and Geneva, and the Federal Assembly of 1847, by a Radical majority, determined on the suppression of the "*Sonderbund*" and the dismissal of the Jesuits. It was at this moment that the European Powers, under the settlement of the Congress of Vienna, agreed to intervene. France, led by Guizot and Louis Philippe, sided with the Jesuits and reactionaries; while Palmerston, though ready to consider the French proposals, encouraged the Liberals, who acted with rapidity and passed decrees dissolv-

* David Friedrich Strauss (1808–1874); German theologian; teacher at Maulbronn 1831, at Tübingen 1832; published his *Leben Jesu* 1835; broke with Christianity 1840; he thought Jesus had no historical existence; issued *Die Christliche Glaubenslehre* 1840; published *Ulrich von Hutten* 1860, *Reimarus* 1862, *Voltaire* 1870, *Der alte und der neue Glaube* 1872.

† Ulric Ochsenbein, born 1811.

ing the league and expelling the Jesuits. Guizot advocated European intervention, but dared not move without the support of Austria. Palmerston delayed his reply, giving time to the Swiss Liberals to accomplish their work. By the end of November, Prussia and Austria had both joined France; but when Palmerston on November 26th agreed to send a joint note the work had been done. The federal forces had been put under the command of Colonel Dufour,* of Geneva; while the 78,000 men of the "*Sonderbund*" were led by Colonel Ulrich Salis-Soglio. Dufour proved himself a splendid strategist, and by his victory on November 23rd, at Gislikon, the "*Sonderbund*" was crushed, the Catholic party was no longer powerful, and their stronghold, Lucerne, fell. Thus Switzerland, formerly a confederation of States, was placed under a new federal institution.

The failure of the foreign schemes of Guizot had a disastrous effect upon the stability of the French monarchy. The policy of resistance to progress had collapsed. The nation had learnt that from 1840 nothing had been accomplished of any lasting good. The rule of the Orleanists was rotten to the core; it was realized, in the struggle for reform, that if the mob would but show something of that spirit that had accomplished so much fifty years before there would no longer be a King of the French. The agitation began in what were called "reform banquets," but these soon passed from mere Liberal gatherings to advocate political change into dangerous socialistic meetings to demand radical reforms on behalf of the working class. Louis Philippe denounced the agitation in vain, and when the Government endeavoured to prevent, on February 22nd, one of these so-called "banquets" the revolution broke out. The mob, excited by long suppression, carried this way and that by various rumours, at last came into contact with the police. The National Guard was called out to suppress the riot; but it was too late, the mischief had been done; and the Guards themselves joined the people in their clamour for the dismissal of Guizot and the introduction of reform. Louis took what steps he could to prevent further trouble by dismissing Guizot and forming a Government under Molé. But the Republican spirit had

* Guillaume Henri Dufour (1787–1875); an authority on military affairs.

been aroused, and on February 23rd a large mob attacked the residence of the ex-minister. The troops fired upon the crowd; that was enough; and by next morning, under the leadership of avowed Republicans and Socialists, there was a general cry for a new Republic. The King, supported by Odillon Barrot and Thiers, in vain made concessions to the mob. A personal effort on the part of Louis to win back the National Guard failed; and on February 24th, 1848, Louis Philippe abdicated in favour of his grandson, the Comte de Paris. The national representatives accepted this, but power had entirely passed from their hands; Paris was now completely dominated by the revolutionary and infuriated mob. A provisional Government was set up at the Hôtel de Ville; the Republic was proclaimed, and France once again calmly accepted the excited decisions of her capital. The difficulty of the situation was intense; the two parties which had brought about the Revolution were no longer on friendly terms. The Republicans, pure and simple, Lamartine,* Arago,† Crémieux,‡ Marie,§ and others, were opposed to the Socialists, Louis Blanc,‖ Albert,¶ Flocon,** and Marrast.†† This second party was guided by the dictates of the populace, and on February 25th decreed the establishment of national workshops. As March and April passed, however, there was a general reaction on the part of the middle class against the Socialist mob, which ended, on April 16th, in a severe contest between the National Guard and the armed proletariat. The outcome was the election of a majority of moderates in

* Alphonse Marie Louis de Lamartine (1790–1869); the greatest lyrical poet and orator of France; wrote *Méditations* 1820, *Harmonies Poétiques et Religieuses* 1829, *Souvenirs d'Orient, c.* 1830; and many other publications between 1833–1848, including the *Histoire des Girondins;* Minister of Foreign Affairs 1848; after the rise of Napoleon III. devoted himself to literature.

† Emanuel Arago (1812–1896); ambassador to Switzerland 1880–1894.

‡ Isaac Adolphe Crémieux (1796–1880); an eloquent Jew; Minister of Justice 1848.

§ Alexandre T. Marie (1797–1870); a lawyer.

‖ Jean Joseph Louis Blanc (1811–1882); founded the *Revue du Progrès* 1839; published *Organisation du Travail* 1840, and *Histoire des Dix Ans* (1830–1840) in 1841–1844; later he wrote *Histoire de la Révolution Française*, Vol. I.; and after 1848 wrote *Lettres sur l'Angleterre;* returned to France 1871; a member of the Chamber of Deputies 1876.

¶ Martin Alexandre Albert, b. 1815; a revolutionary workman who fought at the barricades.

** Ferdinand Flocon (1800–1866); able editor of the extreme paper *La Réforme.*

†† Armande Marrast (1801–1852); a journalist.

the National Convention. Its policy was republican, but not socialist, and on May 15th it was only saved by the National Guard. In June, a fresh insurrection was organized by what was known as the Socialist Committee of the Luxembourg, in the newly-formed national workshops. The Assembly at last realized the danger of having 100,000 armed and discontented workmen in Paris, and ordered the national workshops to be closed. There was at once a fresh outbreak, which General Cavaignac, the regular garrison, and the National Guard were called upon to suppress. Barricades, set up by the insurgents "with the regularity and skill of engineers," had to be attacked. General Bréa was killed; and the revolt of the "days of June" was only subdued after terrible bloodshed. On November 4th a Constitution was at last issued, based on the sovereignty of the people. The legislature was balanced by the President, both being elected by universal suffrage for four years. It was a Constitution that gave a great chance to a man who could seize it. The man was ready, and in the dread of socialism and all that the Red Terror meant, the people readily acquiesced in the election of Prince Louis Napoleon. "I accept the candidature," he said, "because . . . France regards the name I bear as one that may serve to consolidate society." In December, 1848, he was chosen President of the French Republic by 5,400,000 votes. "Memories of the Napoleonic legend, dreams of a glorious future, the fear of communism and of a clerical propaganda, had deceived the mind of the people, and in consequence the Republic obtained a master."

It would be incorrect to assume that the French Revolution of February, 1848, was the sole reason for those other disturbances that forced so many monarchs to tremble for their thrones. It was the occasion of the outbreak, but the causes were more deeply seated. There was a distinct sign of change in the working classes of all nations. Peace had brought prosperity; and prosperity had in turn created a spirit of antagonism towards the political barriers that monarchs had apparently created as checks towards future progress. In the Austrian dominions of Italy the rule of Metternich had aroused Revolutionary antagonism. The enthusiasm for a united Italy, combined with perseverance

to obtain that ideal, had much encouraged Revolutionary notions. In past years the Carbonari had been a formidable influence, but their secret organization had become almost as harmless to the State as modern freemasonry. But with the failure of the older associations for liberty and nationalism, "Young Italy." The hopes of the people were again aroused Mazzini* had brought into existence the new society of when the anti-Austrian and Liberal Cardinal Mastai-Ferretti was elected Pope Pius IX. on June 17th, 1846. It looked to the Powers of Europe as if the reconstitution of Italy was after all to be accomplished by the successor of St. Peter, and for this reason Austria poured troops into Ferrara in July, 1847. This was protested against by the Papal authorities, who were supported by the appearance of the French and British fleets off the Italian coast. At the same time Charles Albert of Piedmont, as a faithful son of the Holy Church, and as the champion against Austrian aggression, placed himself at the head of the Liberal movement, which now began to be general. The Revolution began in Naples in January, 1848, when King Ferdinand II. was forced to grant a Constitution. At the same time a revolt took place in Milan, which Austria easily suppressed, but which marked the progress of Revolutionary principles in the north. Charles Albert, like all sovereigns, distrusted the Revolution, but, as an Italian unionist, granted to the people of Piedmont the much-desired Constitution in March.

The dominions of the House of Hapsburg were, indeed, threatened; since it was composed of a dozen nationalities divided in race, religion, and stages of civilization, all changes were perilous. The basis of the State was feudal and mediæval in character, and the work of Metternich had been to perpetuate the old methods by stern censorship and repression of all Liberal ideas. Liberalism smouldered only among

* Giuseppe Mazzini (1805–1872); joined the Carbonari 1829; imprisoned 1830; organized an abortive invasion of Savoy 1834; the greatest political agitator; banished from his refuge in Switzerland 1837; his letters opened by the British Government in 1844; took part in the Lombard rising in 1848; appointed, with Saffi and Armellini, a triumvir of Roman Republic 1849; plotted different risings in Italy 1852–1857; supported Garibaldi in his expedition against Sicily and Naples; taken prisoner at Aspromonte 1862; elected by Messina as Deputy 1866–1867; again expelled from Switzerland; wrote chiefly on political topics, such as *Thoughts upon Democracy in Europe.*

the *comitatus* of the Magyars of Hungary. Here the first movement towards revolution began under the cry for Magyarization. But in Hungary there were two parties that were working at the same time. The one aimed at Magyarization ; the other, supported by Count Szechenyi,* at the introduction of Western civilization and Liberalism. The Magyar movement had extended to Transylvania, where for some time there had been an agitation under Baron Miklos Wesselenyi † for a Diet, which was at last called in May, 1834. In Hungary, by 1839, the nobles showed signs of surrendering their old feudal privileges under the influence of their Liberal allies. In the following year a new power had arisen in the person of Louis Kossuth.‡ When in 1841 he issued his reform journal, *Pesti Hirlap*, the struggle which culminated in 1849 had begun. From mere journalism Kossuth swung naturally into oratory, and by means of his fiery words roused the patriotism of Hungary, which found vent in 1844 in the "Protection League" for the use of home-made articles only.

The movement of the Magyars aroused a national agitation among the Slavs. This began in Bohemia in much the same way as the Magyar language movement had begun in Hungary. The Bohemians at first merely endeavoured to revive the Czech language, and such students as Palachy and Schafarik diligently studied the ancient history of both Czechs and Slavs ; but the agitation soon became political, and the Magyar-German authority was bitterly assailed by Carl Havlicek, the editor of the *Czech Gazette*. But the Pan-Slav movement was not without a danger in that it was divided against itself. The Slavs of the south, the Serbs, the Slovenes, the Croatians, and the Dalmatians had started a political idea of their own, called "Illyrism," which owed a great deal to the foundation of the *Illyrian National Gazette* of Ljudevit Gaj.§ The Austrian Government showed no signs of alarm,

* Istran, Count Szechenyi (1792–1860).

† Miklos Wesselenyi (1795–1850).

‡ Louis Kossuth (1802–1894); a Slovac who turned Hungarian; Deputy at the Diet of Presburg 1832; imprisoned 1837 and learnt English; liberated 1840; made a prisoner in Turkey 1849; came to England 1851; tried to rouse a Hungarian revolt in 1861 and 1866; retired to Turin 1867; wrote *Memoirs of My Exile* 1880–1882; buried at Buda-Pesth.

§ Ljudevit Gaj, *b.* 1810.

but the Magyars regarded the movement with the greatest suspicion as an obvious attempt on the part of the Government to use the southern agitation as a means of breaking that in Hungary. By 1844, however, the Imperial Government changed its attitude, and forced the editor to alter the name of his paper, which now definitely supported the rights and liberties of the Slavs against the Magyars.

In Austria the chief cause of revolution was agrarian, though there were also national and constitutional reasons for the outbreak. The Poles of Galicia rose in 1846, and fought with the desperate but useless courage always shown in their continual struggles for national freedom. They succeeded in driving across the Vistula the incompetent General Collin, but instead of pushing on at a moment when Austria was completely disorganized they endeavoured to establish a republic in Cracow. Precious time had been lost, and by the energy of Colonel Benedek * the rebels were routed at Golow on February 26th. But what made this Galician rising so horrible was the fact that agrarian troubles were utilized in the worst way by the Government. The Imperial authority encouraged the Ruthenian peasants, who hated their Polish overlords, and in the spring of 1846 there was a massacre, in which the serfs murdered 1,400 of the nobles. The Government was practically responsible for this, and when on April 13th the Emperor abolished the most crying evils of feudalism the world regarded his action as an endorsement of the butchery. It was at this time that Vielopolski wrote his celebrated *Lettre d'un gentilhomme polonais au Prince Metternich*, in which he warned the Austrian minister that a renewal of these atrocities would drive the Poles into the arms of the Czar Nicholas. The outcry against the massacre and plunder of the peasants brought about the revocation of the concessions, and Count Francis Stadion was sent to restore order in Galicia. His coming showed that there was little to hope for in the way of reform, and the discontented agrarians allied with the nationalists. Russia and Prussia looked quietly on, whilst Austria arbitrarily set on one side the European compact of 1815, and the neutralized free republic of Cracow was absorbed within the Austrian Empire.

* Ludwig von Benedek (1804–1878).

In Hungary the Diet was discussing a moderate reform when the news of the Revolution in Paris was first made known to the members. Kossuth, in a wonderful outburst of oratory, on March 3rd, demanded that his country should have a true national government, with ministers entirely responsible to the Hungarian people. In Bohemia there was the same excitement and enthusiasm as in Hungary, and it was decided in Prague to send to the Emperor numerous demands, Liberal and nationalist in character. At the same moment the Diet of Lower Austria asked that steps should be taken of a representative character to find some solution for the financial crisis which had started in Vienna on March 4th. The people of the Austrian capital were roused ; the students clamoured for the programme of Kossuth ; the armed forces were called out, the middle class joined the rebels ; the wildest cries of the Revolution and Reform were heard on every side ; and Metternich, who had been sleeping peacefully under the delusion that his system of repression would keep everything safe, suddenly awoke to his personal danger, and was obliged to fly his country on March 13th.

The effect of Metternich's flight, and with it the collapse of his system, was very considerable. The centre of the Hungarian movement was transferred from Presburg to Pesth, where there was much more danger of wild revolution. Two days after the aged diplomatist's fall Kossuth had succeeded in passing the "March laws," which combined Magyarization and modern Liberalism. By the end of the month, largely owing to the armed agitation of the Committee of Public Safety at Pesth, Hungary was practically separated from Austria, and a Cabinet, under Count Batthyany,* was confirmed, and he, with Kossuth, was loudly welcomed in Vienna by the armed mob. Bohemia again followed the example of Hungary, and on April 8th a new Constitution was proclaimed. The Imperial Government was obliged to give way to their demands because of the situation in Italy, where unwittingly the patriots were assisting the more northerly revolutionaries. The news of the fall of Metternich brought about a union of the Italian States. It was not until March 18th that the people of Milan heard the glad tidings from Vienna,

* Casimir Batthyany (1807–1854).

and with one accord turned against General Radetzky * and drove him to Verona. Five days later the Piedmontese, under Charles Albert, declared war, and the nationalist movement was joined by the people of Naples, who marched north under General Pepe ; while a rising was made under Daniele Manin in Venice, where a Republic was proclaimed on March 22nd.

Nor was Metternich's fall unfelt in Prussia. The King of Prussia had already tried a constitutional experiment in February, 1846, by summoning the "United Diet," contrary to the remonstrances of the Czar and of Metternich, who prophesied the dissolution of the kingdom. It caused his brother to declare that "A new Prussia will arise. The old Prussia goes to the grave. . . . May the new be as great and glorious in honour and fame as the old has been." Frederick William IV., however, did not regard his scheme as in any way pandering to revolutionary tastes ; he declared that it included "no charter, no Constitution, no periodic meetings of States-General." "Never," said the King on April 11th, "will I allow a written document to come between God in Heaven and this land in the character of a second Providence, to govern us with its formalities and take the place of ancient loyalty." It was simply a body of representatives to approve such matters as the King should initiate. This refusal of a Constitution was regarded by the Liberals as a challenge from autocracy ; they refused to accept the limitations imposed by the King, and the Diet was prorogued on June 26th, 1847. It only needed the fall of Metternich to cause Prussia to burst into revolutionary flame. Two days after the old minister's flight Berlin was barricaded, but the King, after some fighting, wishing to avoid further bloodshed, agreed to negotiate with the Liberals. Unfortunately, before this could take place, on March 28th, it was necessary to clear the mob from the palace, and shots being fired it was regarded as the King's deliberate treachery. The opportunity for crushing the revolution was lost, for Frederick William IV. ordered General von Prittwitz to check the troops, and he proclaimed himself a German nationalist. This, however, did not last for long, as in November a reac-

* Johann Joseph, Count Radetzky (1766–1858); fought continually against France 1792–1815; commander-in-chief in Lombardy 1831; won the victory of Custozza 1848; defeated the troops of Savoy at Novara 1849.

tionary ministry was called into being under Count Brandenburg, the son of King Frederick William II. and Countess Dönhoff. The moving spirit of the new Cabinet was Otto von Manteuffel,* and obedience to the King's commands was enforced by the military under General Wrangel.† Berlin was declared to be in a state of siege; the people were deprived of their arms, and the political clubs were closed.

There had been an attempt to unify the German States on a liberal basis as early as September, 1847. The south was favourable, and on the 5th of March, 1848, at Heidelberg, extremists and moderates coalesced to form a definite programme and demand a National German Parliament elected by the people. The popular chamber was to control peace and war and all commercial details. Würtemberg, Saxony, and Baden fell in with the scheme, but the King of Bavaria would not give his consent. After the revolution in Berlin it was impossible to expect anything from Prussia; and the revolutionaries, supported by the vote of the Diet, opened the first national Parliament at Frankfort on May 18th.

The revolution in Germany seemed, therefore, triumphant, but the blows which had rained upon the Powers stunned but failed to kill. It was still possible for one or other of the different European Governments to recover consciousness and with renewed vitality struggle to restore the *ancien régime*. Mob-rule, however, in Vienna was to last for some months before Austria could shake off its ill effects. The popular clamours had been for Austrian representatives to sit in the National Parliament, but in the end this proved a mere farce. At the same time a central Constitution was issued by the Viennese Government which excluded Hungary and the Italian provinces. The mob imagined anything and everything ill of the Government, and having forced Count Ficquelmont to resign by one outburst, tried the effect of another upon his successor, Pillersdorf. At last the Emperor fled to Innsbruck on May 26th, and the burden of settling Vienna was left on the shoulders of that city. Vienna could not dictate to the whole of Austria, even

* Not to be confused with General E. H. K. F. von Manteuffel (1809–1885).

† Friederich Heinrich Ernst Wrangel (1784–1877); fought in the campaigns of 1807, 1813, and 1814; commanded in Schleswig-Holstein 1848; field-marshal 1856; commanded in the Danish war 1864; fought against Austria 1866.

had she wished, and many of her people, seeing the loss of trade by the flight of the Emperor, joined the provinces in appealing to the sovereign for peace.

Ferdinand was ready to seize at anything to bring about the suppression of popular rule at Vienna, and on May 29th, after Count Thun and Prince Windischgrätz * proclaimed at the Pan-Slav Congress at Prague the separate government of Bohemia, the Emperor confirmed its independence. But the military spirit of Windischgrätz made it impossible for him to work well with the Pan-Slavic movement, and when the turbulent elements of Prague on June 15th broke into revolt in emulation of the Viennese, he crushed the revolt and established himself as Emperor's dictator. The race war now broke out. The Germans of the National Parliament at Frankfort, casting their Liberalism to the wind, offered the dictator help. Windischgrätz refused. His victory had not been won on behalf of any nationality, but in order to reconstitute the authority of the Emperor. It was as well that the Government had been so ably supported, for the meeting of the Austrian Reichsrath on July 10th showed a Slav majority, to the disgust of the German nationalists. Very little could be the outcome of these warring parties ; one thing, however, was gained when the Act for the emancipation of serfs was finally passed on September 7th. It was the only result of the revolution, and, as the agrarian burdens of the peasants had been definite causes, it was hoped by the Emperor and his advisers that this act of Liberalism might possibly bring the much-desired reaction. In this way the peasants were won over to the Emperor's side, and when the true struggle with Magyarization and Liberalism came he was also supported by an army flushed with success in their engagements in Italy.

The Italians had been cheered by victories at Milan, Goito, and at Santa Lucia ; they were only just defeated by a superior force at Curtatone on May 29th, and a second victory at Goito, together with the reported fall of Peschiera, made them proclaim Charles Albert King of Italy. Radetzky's force was now 60,000 men, and although the Government of Vienna feared the total loss of Lombardy he bade them wait. He had realised that three things would be fatal to the Italian

* Prince Windischgrätz (1787–1862) ; defeated by the Hungarians at Gödöllo.

cause: the first vacillation; the second divided counsels; and the third, the unwillingness of the princes to follow the cause of Piedmont. Pope Pius IX. set the example of desertion, by his *Allocution* on April 29th, by which he declared that war with Austria was abhorrent to him. He was followed by Ferdinand of Naples, who seized the opportunity to crush radicalism, abrogate his charter, and recall General Pepe. Even now Charles Albert might have succeeded, but instead of taking a strong line he allowed the people of Lombardy, Parma, Piacenza, Modena and Venice, to declare their incorporation in the Kingdom of Piedmont. This creation of a strong northern kingdom lost him what little goodwill was left in Switzerland, France, Naples and the Papal States. In the meantime Radetzky worked vigorously. On June 7th Vicenza fell, and the Venetian mainland passed under Austrian control. The Austrians were still further encouraged by an enormous influx of troops, which on July 25th utterly defeated Charles Albert at Custozza. After retiring to Milan, which he was soon forced to leave, he signed the six weeks' armistice at Vigevano on August 9th.

The Austrian victory of Custozza seemed to have finally settled the Italian question. But in that distracted land of little principalities the revolutionary movement soon broke out afresh. Rossi,* the Papal premier, was murdered by an infuriated mob; the Pope fled to Gaeta and surrendered himself to reactionary schemes. On February 9th the Roman Chambers declared the abolition of Papal temporal power, and announced to the world that Rome was a Republic. Some ten days later the democrats of Florence deposed the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who when informed that his kingdom was now a republic found an asylum with the Pope. Piedmont, under the guidance of Gioberti,† naturally disliked the formation of these republics in central Italy. But at the very moment of difficulty Gioberti was driven from office, and Charles Albert was left alone in Italy to contend with the

* Pellegrino Rossi (1787–1848); wrote *Traité de Droit Pénal;* French ambassador in Rome 1845; roused hatred of the Romans; a Protestant; political economist; friend of Guizot.

† Vincenzo Gioberti (1801–1852); banished 1833; wrote *Introduzione allo Studio della Filosofia, Del Bello, Del Buono, Del Primato Civile e Morale degli Italiani, De Gesuita Moderno* 1839–1847; died in Paris.

increased power of Austria. Against the advice of Cavour * he denounced the armistice of Vigevano and declared war. It was entirely disastrous, and on March 23rd the Piedmontese were defeated at Novara. Charles Albert made a great sacrifice and proved himself a patriot of the true kind; men came to regard him as the martyr of the lofty cause of unity, for rather than sign the humiliating treaty with his enemies he abdicated in favour of his son, Victor Emanuel.† It was this wise action which really prepared the way for the true union of the Italian people.

In the meantime Baron Jellachich,‡ devoted to the imperial power of Austria, had been appointed Viceroy, or Ban, of Croatia, and had started the system of federalism as advocated by the southern Slavs. He was the avowed enemy of Magyarization, and replaced all Magyar officials by Slavs, who ruled Croatia and Slavonia under martial law. The Hungarian Government appealed to the Emperor, who, misunderstanding Jellachich, ordered him to abandon his schemes. His reply was a prompt refusal, followed by a meeting of the Croatian Diet, which desired the separation of the "Triune Kingdom" from Hungary, proposed the inclusion of Görz, Carniola, Carinthia, Istria, and Lower Styria, and stated that its union with Austria consisted only in the matter of finance, foreign policy, and war. Count Batthyany, as head of the Hungarian Cabinet, persuaded the Emperor to condemn this action and depose Jellachich. The latter, however, understood the situation exactly; the Croatian Diet was devoted to him, and, having conferred upon him unrestricted authority, Jellachich prorogued it, with a benediction, on July 9th. He felt strong enough to take this action, for he had found that the loyalty of the Magyar troops had been tampered with at Pesth, and that they would be useless to fight the revolutionaries in Vienna. For this reason he issued a proclamation to the Croatian regiments fighting in Italy to continue to struggle

* Count Camillo Benso di Cavour (1810–1861); travelled; founded the newspaper *Il Risorgimento* in 1847; premier 1852–1859; advised Sardinia to take part in the Crimean War; induced Louis Napoleon to assist Piedmont against Austria; deeply disappointed with the Treaty of Villafranca 1859; encouraged Garibaldi 1860; the maker of the modern Italian Kingdom.

† Charles Albert, died an exile at Oporto, July 28, 1849.

‡ Baron Joseph Jellachich (1801–1859); a general and poet.

for a common fatherland. The Hungarian Diet, on the other hand, urged by the fiery words of Kossuth, were determined to crush the Croats. But the victory of Custozza on July 25th had freed a large army, faithful to the Emperor, and there was again a chance to re-establish a centralized State. The Magyars were still for separation, and the settlement of the questions between Austria and Hungary seemed impossible except by war. The first warning was given on August 22nd, when the extraordinary powers of the Palatine were withdrawn. On September 4th the Emperor definitely showed on which side were his sympathies by the reinstatement of Jellachich. The Hungarian ministers were at first dumbfounded, but Kossuth rose to the situation and took the direction of all proceedings into his own, somewhat irresponsible, hands. Jellachich seized his opportunity and by September 17th had crossed the river Drav at the head of a Croatian army, and war had begun.

The German democrats found that the Slav majority in the Austrian Reichsrath would do nothing for them, and that they supported the Imperial authority. For this reason the Liberals allied with the Magyars, and Louis Kossuth was given an enthusiastic welcome by the Viennese mob when he was refused an audience by the Reichsrath. The Imperial authority now made a great mistake in appointing Field Marshal von Lamberg head of the military forces in Hungary, and Kossuth stirred up the people to refuse him allegiance, which ended in the brutal murder of the general on September 28th by a frantic mob. On October 3rd Hungary was placed under martial law and Jellachich was made commander of all the forces. The next day the Ban of Croatia met the Hungarian army, under General Moga, near Veldencze, but after a bombardment by artillery the two forces agreed to an armistice for three days. Jellachich began to retreat, and on October 7th his reserve was utterly crushed by Generals Perczel and Görgei. In the meantime General Latour was sent with more regiments, but these mutinied, and his fate was the same as that of von Lamberg. The weak Emperor thought it time to withdraw the proclamation, and fled to Olmütz, appealing to all the Slavs to rally round the imperial cause. The Slav majority also moved to Prague and left the wretched German minority to do what it could in Vienna.

The time for warlike intervention had arrived, and by October 28th Windischgrätz attacked the city on behalf of the Emperor, and two days later it capitulated. The fall of Vienna on November 9th, together with the execution of two of its Liberal defenders, Robert Blum * and Messenhausser, marked the Imperial attack on German nationalism. Prince Felix Schwarzenburg was placed at the head of affairs; with him were associated Count Francis Stadion at the Home Office, Bruck as Minister of Commerce, Krauss as Minister of Finance, and Bach as Minister of Justice. It was clearly recognized from this moment that the Emperor would endeavour to restore autocratic rule and the Metternich system. But the first thing to be accomplished was the suppression of the Magyar revolt.

The Diet was transferred to Kremsier on November 10th, where it could debate without being in the least dangerous, and on December 2nd the Emperor Ferdinand abdicated in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph, a step definitely aimed against the Hungarian revolutionaries, since the abdication freed the Imperial authority from any obligations and compacts that might have been made in the past with Louis Kossuth. The Hungarians declared the impossibility of the abdication and decided to regard the new Emperor as a usurper. Jellachich began the war with victories over the rebels under Perczel and Görgei † in December; while on January 2nd, after the flight of the Hungarian Diet to Debreczen, Pesth was occupied. Two days later Count Schlich, having already routed the forces of Pulszky, defeated General Meszáros with 17,000 men. By the end of the month, however, Magyar hopes revived by General George Klapka's ‡ defeat of the Austrians, under Schlich, when endeavouring to reach Debreczen. This proved a mere temporary success, for on February 27th Schlich and Windischgrätz utterly crushed the Magyars under the Napoleonic veteran Dem-

* Robert Blum (1807–1848); a bookseller in Leipzig; carried a congratulatory address to the Viennese rebels.

† Arthur Görgei, born 1818; defeated Jellachich at Ozora; relieved Komorn; nominated dictator August, 1849; imprisoned at Klagenfurt; accused by Kossuth of treachery; allowed to return to Hungary 1868; declared free of all suspicion of treachery 1885.

‡ George Klapka (1820–1892); exiled after the war, but returned in 1867.

binski * at Kapolna and drove him back on Theiss. The result of this victory was the issue of a new centralized Constitution, including Hungary, on March 7th. But the Magyars were not yet crushed ; Bem,† the guerilla chief in Transylvania, Perczel in the Servian Banate, and Görgei in Hungary were more than holding their own against the Austrians. Görgei defeated Windischgrätz on April 4th at Tapio Bacze and again on the 6th at Gödöllö, and the Austrian general was superseded by Welden. The Magyar leader then defeated Götz at Waitzen, and Wohlgemüth at Nagy Sarlo ; and by April 22nd he was able to relieve the fortress of Komorn. Meantime, on April 14th, the independence of Hungary was proclaimed at Debreczen, and Kossuth appointed a ministry of his own. The young Emperor, Francis Joseph, now readily accepted the Czar's offer of assistance, and in March requested the Russian troops to move forward. An Austrian force from the west marched to meet the Russian from the east, while Jellachich, with 40,000 men, advanced from Croatia. The Magyar hopes were placed in the hands of Görgei ; but Kossuth had resigned his dictatorship in vain, for Görgei was defeated on June 20th at Pered by Wohlgemüth ; another force suffered reverse at Mossorin on July 23rd ; General Lüders routed Bem at Segesvár or Schassburg on the 31st ; Haynau fell upon Dembinski at Szöreg on August 5th and obtained a decisive victory ; and the army of Görgei, 24,000 strong, capitulated to Rüdiger on August 13th at Vilagos.

The capable Prince Schwarzenburg, who was ultimately the saviour of Austria, meant to finish the question for ever, and with the assistance of the bloodthirsty General Haynau he stamped out every sign of Magyar liberty, "in some instances with a barbarity congenial to him." The Metternich system was once again restored, and the Austrian ecclesiastics solemnly condemned the spirit of nationality as contrary to the teaching of their Church.

Austria, whose empire had seemed on the verge of dissolution, was miraculously restored. The Hapsburg family owed the successful issue of its troubles to the racial

* Henry Dembinski (1791–1864); entered Polish army 1809 ; fought in Moscow campaign and at Leipzig ; commander-in-chief in the Polish rising of 1830 ; served under Mehemet Ali 1833 ; fought for Kossuth ; fled to Turkey after 1849.

† Joseph Bem (1795–1850); fled to Turkey in 1849 ; became a Mahomedan.

differences between different sections of the rebels and to the armed force by which they were at last reduced. But they might easily have been ousted from the German Confederation while too weak to resist. That they were not was the fault partly of the German revolutionaries, partly of the Prussian King.

At Frankfort the German Parliament was confronted by problems of policy and method which demanded a speedy answer. The relation of Austria and Prussia to the new Constitution was a delicate matter. So was the racial problem; for the States on the borders of the German Confederation contained many other besides German elements. The Assembly met in May, 1848. In June it succeeded in constituting a Provisional Government, and on June 29th the Archduke John of Austria was elected Regent. Next they proceeded to waste precious time in abstract debates about the Constitution of Germany and the fundamental rights of her people. Debates did not mean authority, and it was soon seen that if Prussia and Austria did not give their consent to the scheme both Regency and Constitution were likely to prove absolutely valueless. The weakness of their position was illustrated in the question of Schleswig-Holstein, as will be shown in a later chapter. The factious state of Germany was made still more apparent in the next year by Prussia's obvious dislike for Schwarzenburg's attempt to rearrange Germany in such a way that Austria should be undivided and therefore supreme. On March 4th, 1849, Schwarzenburg had proclaimed a new Constitution for the whole of the Austrian Empire, and had hoped to substitute for a German Emperor a Directory of seven, and for a popular Parliament a Commission of delegates from governments and diets in which Austria would have the largest number of votes. In answer to this Frederick William with a small majority, was hastily elected Emperor, but seeing the difficulties of the situation and disliking an alliance with the revolutionaries, on April 21st, he refused to accept the crown. This brought about the collapse of the German Parliament. The Austrian deputies had already withdrawn. They were now followed by those of Prussia. Gradually the moderate party deserted, and the democrats, after removing to Stuttgart, were finally dissolved in June, 1849.

The failure of the attempt to constitute a German State on national and Liberal principles was due to the essential difficulty of arriving at a settlement, but also to defects in the working of the Frankfort Parliament. To frame a Constitution, to decide upon the relation of Austria to the new German organization, to steer safely between national and racial jealousies, to win the confidence of Europe : all these were problems to tax the resources of any assembly. The Parliament lost its opportunities by delay. Meeting in May, it did not undertake the work of framing the Constitution until October. The problem of excluding Austria or including the whole or part of her dominions was left unsolved until Austria was able to use menaces. By that time, too, Frederick William was under the influence of a reactionary committee, and more than ever uncertain in his designs upon the Imperial crown. The Parliament was divided on questions of principle, and had lost the confidence of the middle classes.

The failure of the much-debated Constitution caused a fresh revolutionary outburst in Dresden and Baden. The insurrection was led by the Polish general Mieroslawski, but the Prussian troops under their Prince, assisted by Generals von Hirschfeld, von Gröben, von Peucker, and Haunecken, soon restored order. On May 7th, 1849, Frederick William attempted, at a Prussian conference, to promulgate a new Constitution based on the idea of a College of Kings. This Schwarzenburg had formally pretended to be worthy of consideration, but he was really determined to restore the old Federal Diet, and the representative of Austria soon withdrew from the Prussian conference. Nevertheless, Frederick William was anxious to proceed, and endeavoured to establish what proved a most insecure " league of the north " between Prussia, Saxony, and Hanover, known as the "*Dreikonigsbund*," which came to an end before October. The scheme was rejected by Bavaria and Würtemberg, for, by the end of August, the Austrians had crushed the Magyar disaffection, and Schwarzenburg hoped to be able to exert pressure to carry out his own plans. He persuaded Prussia to agree on September 30th to the " Compact of the Interim," which brought about the resignation of the regency by Archduke John, and postponed the question until May, 1850. But as Hanover, Saxony, Bavaria, and Würtemberg were now

ranged on the side of Austria it meant that the smaller States and Prussia were naturally pitted against them. Schwarzenburg still persevered in dividing Germany among the great States and forming a Directory of their rulers. Frederick William saw through the scheme that would thus exalt Austria, and so summoned a Parliament at Erfurt for March, 1850, which was to have delegates from all the States in the Prussian league. At the same time he was determined to decide what the Constitution should be, and it was his revised Constitution that was finally passed by the Erfurt Parliament on April 29th. Schwarzenburg's reply to this was a summons of the Congress of Princes to revise the Constitution of Germany according to the Treaty of 1815. The Schleswig-Holstein question again intervened, and, as Prussia emerged from that in 1850 in a very shaky condition, the King, against his real wishes, had to seek the support of Russia. But Russia was the nominal ally of Austria, and it seemed that Schwarzenburg's chance had come to crush Prussia by means of war. He, however, still preferred negotiations, and offered to set up a central Government, based on the equal powers of Austria and Prussia, if Frederick William would abandon his Constitution. But Prussia still clung to the league, with the result that, after the intervention of the Powers in the Schleswig-Holstein question, she found herself isolated in the councils of Europe. On September 2nd Schwarzenburg's Close Council of the Diet met. With this body Frederick William came into collision owing to the action of the Elector of Hesse. He had quarrelled with his subjects and appealed to the Diet. If Hesse were occupied by any Power unfriendly to Prussia it would be a considerable danger to her military strength. Schwarzenburg insisted that the Diet had the supreme right to settle the question, and emphasized his remarks on October 11th by forming at Bregenz, against Prussia, a league of Austria, Bavaria, and Würtemberg, by which the sovereigns bound themselves to put an army of 200,000 men into the field. A fortnight later the Diet ordered the occupation of Hesse by Bavarian troops, and a slight collision took place at Bronzell, near Fulda, with a few Prussian soldiers, skirmishers of von der Gröben's army, which had been dispatched to the front. Actual war was averted by

the influence of a strong party in Prussia under Gerlach, Retzow, and Bismarck-Schönhausen, which in the *Kreuz Zeitung* advocated alliance against revolution. The danger was removed by the convention of Olmütz on November 29th, at which Frederick William acknowledged the right of Austria to defend Hesse. At the same time he promised to force the Holsteiners to evacuate Schleswig, and he renounced the league of the north. Austria had not, however, won all along the line; Schwarzenburg might have demanded more. As it was, it was agreed that Austria and Prussia should jointly summon a Conference at Dresden to decide the Constitution of Germany. Schwarzenburg had lost his grand opportunity. He still pressed for such a Diet that Austria would have the preponderating sway and Prussia be a second-class Power. But this did not meet with the approval of either Russia, or France, or Great Britain, as they all viewed with jealousy and distrust any definite increase of Austria's supremacy. Frederick William saw his chance, and at the Conference, opened on December 23rd, 1850, so opposed Austrian claims that the German nation once more fell back upon the old Confederation of 1815, and the Constitutional struggle of two years reached its unsatisfactory climax in May, 1851, when the antiquated Federal Diet was again introduced. The great hour for Prussia had not yet come; with reluctance she realized that her policy must still be one of time-serving. But the events of the last two years had fundamentally altered the political relations between the two greatest powers in Germany, and the day was not far distant when their conflict must be fought out and the question of Hohenzollern or Hapsburg supremacy ultimately decided.

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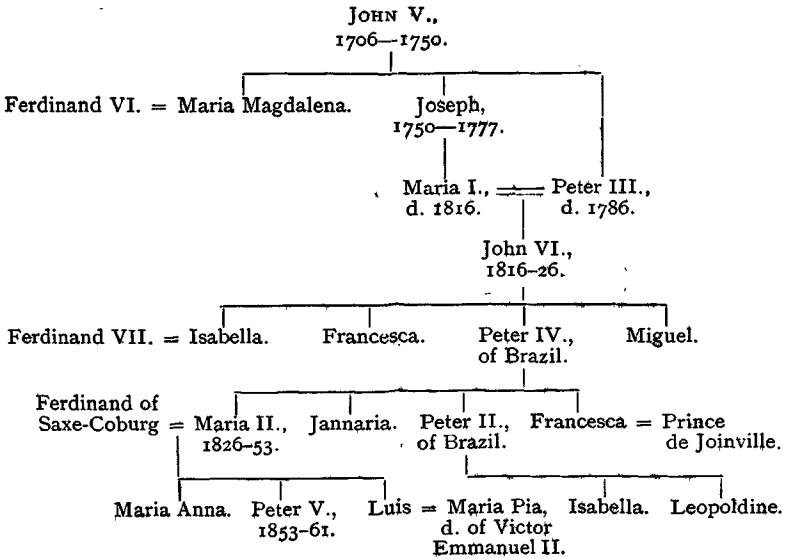
CONTEMPORARY EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

1837. Accession of Queen Victoria.
Great improvements in the criminal law.
1838. Lord Durham was appointed Governor-General of Canada.
The People's Charter drawn up.
1839. Lord Melbourne resigned, and was succeeded by Peel.
Sir Robert Peel declined the Government over the Bedchamber Question.
Rowland Hill's penny postage was adopted.
Chartist riots at Newport.
1840. Marriage of Queen Victoria with Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg.
Settlement of the case of Stockdale *v.* Hansard.
1841. Great meetings on behalf of free trade.
Lord Melbourne resigned, and was succeeded by Peel.

CONTEMPORARY EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN—*continued*

1842. Sir Robert Peel carried his sliding scale with regard to corn.
An income tax was substituted for many duties.
1843. The meeting at Clontarf. Arrest of O'Connell.
1844. The Bank Charter Act passed.
1845. The Maynooth Act passed.
Lord John Russell failed to form a Cabinet.
1846. The gradual repeal of the Corn Laws.
Sir Robert Peel resigned, and was succeeded by Lord John Russell.
The potato famine in Ireland.
1847. Fielden's Ten Hour Bill.
1848. The failure of Chartism.
The Treason Felony Act passed.
1849. The repeal of the Navigation Acts.
1850. Death of Sir Robert Peel.

PEDIGREE OF THE ROYAL HOUSE OF PORTUGAL



CHAPTER XII

THE UNION OF ITALY

1815–1870

SOME SOVEREIGNS OF THE PERIOD.

Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.		*Kings of Sardinia.*		*The Popes.*	
1815.	Ferdinand IV. (restored).	1814.	Victor Emmanuel I. (restored).	1800.	Pius VII.
1825.	Francis I.	1821.	Charles Felix.	1823.	Leo XII.
1830.	Ferdinand II. (Bomba).	1831.	Charles Albert.	1829.	Pius VIII
1859.	Francis II. (deposed 1860).	1849.	Victor Emanuel II.	1831.	Gregory XVI.
1861.	Victor Emanuel II.	1861.	Victor Emanuel II. (King of Italy).	1846.	Pius IX.
		1878.	Humbert (King of Italy).	1878.	Leo XIII.

SOME IMPORTANT DATES IN LITERATURE

1827.	Manzoni's	*Promessi Sposi.*
1832.	Rosmini's	*Cinque Piaghe della Santa Chiesa.*
1843.	Gioberti's	*Primato morale e civile degli Italiani.*
1845.	Gioberti's	*Prolegomeni al Primato.*
1846.	d'Azeglio's	*I Casi di Romagna.*
1847.	Gioberti's	*Gesuita Moderno.*
1848.	d'Azeglio's	*Lutti della Lombardia.*
1851.	Gioberti's	*Rinnovamento Civile d' Italia.*
1867.	d'Azeglio's	*I Miei Ricordi.*
1877.	Carducci's	*Odi Barbare.*

SINCE the foundation of the modern political system in Europe Italy had never been united. The interference of foreign Powers, the temporal dominion of the Papacy, and the partition of her territories between a number of Governments, jealous and evenly balanced, had proved insurmountable obstacles. The partial unification under Napoleon's dominion supplied the Italian people with a model, but the fall of his empire and the restoration of Austria, the Pope, and the numerous separate dynasties seemed to condemn Italy to lasting dislocation. But the spirit aroused in the Napoleonic period was not quenched. The government of Austria in Venice and Lombardy, though in some things enlightened, aroused a fierce antagonism, chiefly because it appeared as the champion of reaction throughout Italy. Even in the Papal States old conditions could not be restored intact. All

ITALY
1815
English Miles
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100
150
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
SAVOY
LOMBARDY
Milan
VENETIA
Venice
PIEDMONT
PARMA
MODENA
STATES
OF THE
CHURCH
LUCCA
Florence
TUSCANY
Nice
CORSICA
ROME
KINGDOM
OF THE
TWO SICILIES
Naples
SARDINIA
TYRRHENIAN
SEA
ADRIATIC
SEA
French
Austrian
Sardinian
Lucca
Parma
Modena
Papal
Neopolitan
Tuscany
Bartholomew, Edin.

over Italy, and especially in the south, opinion ripened, in the years after the Congress of Vienna, in favour of some kind of Italian unity and united reform.

In 1820 the revolution which had been provoked in Spain by the action of the restored monarch, Ferdinand, gave the signal for a similar rising in Italy. In Naples the King was compelled to accept the Spanish Constitution of 1812. The progress of the struggle, which is traced elsewhere in connection with the general movement of Europe in that year, showed that Italy was not yet capable of striking off her fetters. Austria, as soon as she had gained the assent of her allies, had no difficulty in crushing either the Neapolitan revolt or the rising by which it was followed in Piedmont. But the foreign troops could not impair the growing demand for unity or the Italian genius for political intrigue. Secret societies, such as the Carbonari, passed the gospel from place to place. In some cases their views were extreme. The moderate Liberals, on the other hand, aimed at obtaining Constitutional government, while a third party saw as a natural head of united Italy the Pope. It was for this reason that Gioberti dreamed of the day when the Papacy should have at least supreme temporal power from the Alps to Cape Passaro. Gregory XVI., hoping to obtain this power, tried to strangle the spirit of Liberalism, and on the outbreak of revolution crushed its adherents with gross cruelty. In 1831, therefore, the adventurer, Louis Napoleon, thought it necessary to interfere on behalf of the Romagna in its revolt against pontifical rule.

Unity under the Papacy having proved impossible, men flocked round the patriot Giuseppe Mazzini. He was a man whose life was illuminated by a great ideal of freedom and unity ; he was a born proselytiser ; and his schemes were founded on deep meditation and the most careful thought. He was the creator of the "Young Italy" party, for, as he himself said, "Place youth at the head of the insurgent multitude ; you know not the secret of the power hidden in these youthful hearts, nor the magic influence exercised in the masses by the voice of youth." Once again the hatred of Austria became intense, especially after Count Lasanzky had proclaimed that Austria "must Germanize Italy." The Gioberti dreams were revived for the

moment, as has been shown, by the accession of Cardinal Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti as Pius IX., whose Liberal measures pointed to a prospect of better rule and nationality. As Bishop of Imola he had been unable to conceal his disgust at the imprisonments, banishments, and executions carried out by the Austrian authorities. There is, however, no proof that he was ever, even in his youth, in any political connection with the Revolutionary party, though it has been stated that he was in league with the Freemasons and the Carbonari. Veiled insurrection had been steadily proceeding, and the news of the revolution in Vienna was the signal for renewed effort. Charles Albert, ruler of the Sardinian Kingdom, put himself at the head of a Piedmontese army and the other Italian Governments were forced to send assistance. For a time the expulsion of Austria seemed possible. This hope proved abortive, for Pius IX., by his Allocution of April, 1848, recalled his troops, and in this was followed by Ferdinand of Naples. The battle of Custozza robbed Charles Albert of his previous success, and the Treaty of Vigevano checked for a time the struggle for unity. Austria remained triumphant because the Italian States were divided, and the complete formation of the Italian kingdom was postponed for several years.

In the future the Italians looked for assistance to France, where great changes were very rapidly effected between 1848 and 1851. France came to be ruled by another member of the House of Bonaparte. Louis Napoleon had been elected President by an enormous majority, defeating the Republican candidate, Cavaignac. It was his ambition to restore the empire of his uncle, Napoleon I. He placed his hopes in the support of the peasants, the army, and the Church, and he had pandered both to the soldiers and the priests when in April, 1849, he dispatched Oudinot * with 8,000 men to restore the Papal authority in Rome. They had succeeded in driving out Garibaldi,† but Pius IX., doubting the good

* Charles Nicolas Victor Oudinot, Duke of Reggio (1791–1863); saw some service in Algeria.

† Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807–1882); joined the "Young Italy" party 1834; took part in revolutions in South America; joined the revolutionary government at Rome 1849; defended Rome against the French; went to New York; returned to Italy 1854; did great service in the war of Italian liberation; led the "thousand heroes" at Marsala 1860; tried to seize Rome 1862; captured at

faith of his allies, preferred to remain at Gaeta. The French elections of the following May showed that the Republicans had lost ground, and Ledru-Rollin * headed only a small opposition under the title of the Mountain. A rising in Paris was quickly suppressed by Changarnier,† and Ledru-Rollin fled to England, leaving his country in the shackles of despotism, which Napoleon began to rivet by crushing the Press and dismissing the Constitutional officials and replacing them by docile clerks. Unfortunately the Assembly on May 31st, by restricting the franchise, enabled Napoleon to pose as the vindicator of universal suffrage. As the year 1850, however, drew to a close, he realized the more keenly that by the law it was impossible for him to be elected President again. In January, 1851, General Changarnier was dismissed, and the Assembly, long suspicious of their President, declared their confidence in the general and their want of trust in the ministry. On their resignation Napoleon selected equally docile followers. By this time he understood that the state of the electoral law might be made a most powerful lever. To pose as the champion of universal suffrage would secure him, if the point were conceded, the support of the popular vote, by which he had obtained the Presidency ; if it were refused, he had a pretext for overturning the Assembly. Up to the very moment of attempting the final stroke the Emperor had hesitated. Tocqueville has said, "Louis Napoleon was very vacillating in his plans . . . he let his energy . . . become daily enfeebled and his ambition abate." But on December 2nd he carried out his *coup d'état*, assisted by de Morny,‡ Maupas, General Saint Arnauld§ and Magnan. Without any warning, troops were cunningly distributed and placards and proclamations were secretly prepared. The possible enemies of this

Aspromonte; commanded a force in the war of 1866; again attacked Rome 1867; routed at Mentana; joined the French in the war of 1870.

* A. A. Ledru-Rollin (1808–1874); wrote *Appel aux Travailleurs* in 1846; fled to England; returned to France in 1870.

† N. A. T. Changarnier (1793–1877); served in Algeria; besieged with Bazaine in Metz.

‡ Charles Auguste Louis Joseph, Duc de Morny (1811–1865); supposed to be half-brother of Napoleon III.; served in Algeria; became Minister of the Interior after 1851; ambassador to Russia 1856.

§ Jacques Leroy de Saint Arnauld (1796–1854); fought for the Greeks 1822–1826; served in Algeria; commanded the French in the Crimea.

outrageous assumption of power were imprisoned ; Cavaignac, Changarnier, Bedeau,* Lamoricière,† Victor Hugo,‡ Sue,§ and Thiers were all suddenly arrested and sent to different gaols. The protest of 250 of the deputies was met on the morning of December 3rd by force, and they found themselves prisoners in the hands of the guards. There were, of course, revolts and barricades, but they meant nothing when confronted by the soldiers, and by the night of December 4th Louis Napoleon had been completely successful. It was not, however, until exactly a year after that he was actually proclaimed as Emperor Napoleon III., though he had been greeted as Emperor throughout his dominion by the populace and soldiery. In January, 1853, with much pomp and ceremony, the new Emperor married Donna Eugenia di Montijo, and, as Empress Eugenie, she became the leader of fashion, and member of a clique which exercised a sinister influence over Napoleon on critical occasions in his career.

Napoleon's character was one of the riddles of the age. Veuillot had called him "the eyeless sphinx," because of his stone-like countenance, for his glance was dull, his bearing phlegmatic ; and his aspect, though gentle and devoid of much expression, suggested crafty obstinacy. He was undoubtedly brave, but, unlike his greater namesake, he lacked originality. He was a great adventurer, but only a restless and uneasy imitator in comparison with Napoleon I. Filled with deep hidden schemes, he loved secrecy ; he hated work, and was naturally indolent, but no one knew what there was behind that pleasant smile and those unreadable eyes. He made his way, at first by the glamour of his uncle's name and by playing on the fear felt by the middle classes for the extreme Radicals; later by a clever and successful crime. He retained his power, not by the careless cynicism with which he seemed to rule France, but by imitating Napoleon I., and allowing France to have no internal history, while influencing very materially the history of all the other countries in Europe.

* Marie Alphonse Bedeau (1804–1863).

† C. L. L. J. de Lamoricière (1806–1865).

‡ Victor Marie Hugo (1802–1885); a prolific writer ; at first a great admirer of Napoleon I. ; retired to Brussels 1851, and Jersey 1852 ; returned to Paris 1870 ; made a senator in 1876.

§ M. J. Eugene Sue (1804–1857).

At the close of the Crimean war Napoleon turned his attention to the distracted state of Italy. The first part of the story of the struggle for unity from 1849 to 1860 is practically the career of Count Camillo Cavour. He has been well called the restorer of Italian nationality. He was born at Turin on August 10th, 1810, and, after serving in the Sardinian Engineers, he was obliged to resign his commission in 1831 owing to his Liberal principles. After visiting France and England he settled down to improve his family estates, and in 1843 he wrote ironically about the study of agriculture, which, he says, "is indeed the only one to which one can with perfect safety devote oneself in this country." He took up a more active public life in 1847, when, with Count Cesare Balbo,* he established a newspaper, "*Il Risorgimento*," advocating the representative system, and stating, "The hour of fate has struck for the Sardinian monarchy One road only is open, that of immediate war." It was owing to Cavour's initiative that the King was petitioned for a Constitution, which, as already shown, was granted in the spring of 1848. In March, 1849, the Piedmontese, contrary to Cavour's advice, again fought the Austrians and were defeated at Novara. Nevertheless, Italy had by this time, to use Cavour's expression, found a "national flag." In the next year the powers of the much-hated priests were restricted in Piedmont by the "Siccardi laws," and the special jurisdiction of the clergy was abolished. From 1852, when Cavour succeeded D'Azeglio † as Premier at the head of a Liberal coalition, he threw himself heart and soul into the work of administration. Finance, commerce, home affairs, agriculture, and foreign policy were all alike within his province. He had learnt from England the value of material progress in increasing the prestige of a nation. In foreign policy he was equally audacious. His great object was to win Napoleon III. as an ally, and it was by his advice that Sardinia joined with England and France in the Crimean war in 1855. In this way he was able to bring the Italian question before the Congress at Paris in March, 1856, and he urged England and France to stop the unrest in Italy by making demands from Austria.

* Cesare, Count Balbo (1789–1853); statesman.

† Massimo Taparaelli, Marchese d'Azeglio (1798–1866).

But Napoleon III. had Italian affairs brought home to him even more forcibly by an attempt on his life on January 14th, 1858. On that day Orsini,* an Italian, hurled a bomb at the Emperor in revenge for his desertion of the Carbonari, whom he had joined in the days of his youthful adventures in Italy in 1831. The Compact of Plombières was the result of a secret meeting between Napoleon and Cavour on July 20th, 1858. A provisional agreement was made. France and Piedmont were to unite to expel the Austrians from Italy; the spoils were to be, for the Italians, Venice, Lombardy, the Duchies and the Legations; for France, Savoy and perhaps Nice. A marriage was arranged between Prince Napoleon and Victor Emanuel's eldest daughter. On January 1st, 1859, Napoleon made a public reference to causes of disagreement between the French and Austrian empires. It became Cavour's business to provoke Austria to take the offensive before peacemakers could intervene or Napoleon be dissuaded from his purpose by his advisers. A European Congress was proposed, and it seemed certain that Piedmont would be compelled to disarm and submit her claims to the judgment of the Powers. At the moment of crisis, Cavour was saved from defeat by a blunder on the enemy's side. On April 19th, 1859, Austria sent a practical ultimatum, summoning Sardinia to put her army on a peace footing within three days or war would be the consequence.

In April, 1859, the war of Italian liberation began. Napoleon III. promised 200,000 men, and was made commander-in-chief of the united armies of Italy and France. On April 29th the Austrian general Gyulai † invaded Sardinian territory, and on May 4th his army entered the valley of the Po. News of Napoleon's advance forced Gyulai to retire from his march on Turin, and turned him to the Ticino, where it divided Lombardy from the kingdom of Sardinia. On June 1st Napoleon directed his army towards Milan, and to the surprise of the French entered Novara unopposed. On the next day General Camou reached Porto di Turbigo, which, like Novara, was unoccupied. General Espinasse ‡

* Felice Orsini (1819–1858); took part in the defence of Rome and Venice; wrote *Austrian Dungeons in Italy* in 1856.

† Franz Gyulai (1799–1862). ‡ E. C. M. Espinasse (1815–1859).

pushed forward to Milan, which was deserted, and it was now evident that the Austrians would make their great stand on the banks of the Lavigho Grande, where it runs parallel to the Ticino. The position of the main Austrian army remained doubtful until Macmahon,* unsupported by the Emperor, won his brilliant victory of Magenta. Macmahon's corps included Generals Lamoterouge, Mellinet, and Camou, and he was ably supported by the Turcos and other soldiers from Algiers. The fight was very stubborn, but it was a complete victory, and earned for Macmahon the marshal's bâton and title of Duke of Magenta. Allowing his men one day of complete rest, Macmahon on June 6th hastened off to check General Umbria, who was returning from his chase of Garibaldi ; and on June 8th the allied forces entered Milan. The campaign, however, was not yet concluded, and the great fight of Solferino took place on June 24th. The Emperor Francis Joseph had now come from Vienna to take command of his army, a little to the west of the Mincio. Unfortunately for him, he was easily swayed, and his opinions were always wavering according to the different advice given him by his generals. At the moment that the Austrian force was being marched backwards and forwards between the Mincio and the Chiese, the combined French and Italian armies came in contact with them. Napoleon and Victor Emanuel commanded 150,000 men ; the Austrians being rather superior in numbers. Benedek,† commanding the Austrian right, kept back the Piedmontese at San Martino ; but the French in the centre fought with such success that they decided the day, and the Austrians withdrew, having lost, killed and wounded, about 14,000 men.

Napoleon realized that, although the victory was so complete, Austria was by no means crushed. Fresh forces were approaching from the north, there were the forts of the Quadrilateral to be taken, and general sympathy for Austria was

* Marie Edme P. M. de Macmahon (1808–1893); served in Algeria ; gained distinction at Constantine 1837 ; fought in the Crimean war ; again fought in Algeria 1857–58 ; made Governor-General of Algeria 1864 ; fought in Franco-German war ; captured at Sedan ; suppressed the Commune ; elected President in 1873.

† Ludwig von Benedek (1804–1881); fought in Galicia 1846, Italy 1847, Hungary 1849 ; governor of Hungary 1860 ; court-martialled after Königgrätz 1866.

being roused in Germany. For these reasons on July 11th he made the armistice of Villafranca, which was completed on November 10th at the Treaty of Zurich. It was indeed a crushing blow to Italy that Austria should retain Venetia and the Quadrilateral. Nevertheless the flag of united Italy had been gained, and by the union of Lombardy and Piedmont the nucleus of the future kingdom had been officially recognized. On January 20th, 1860, Cavour, who had retired from office, returned; and in March Romagna, Bologna, Modena and Tuscany declared in favour of being united with Piedmont. To persuade Napoleon to agree to this, Cavour surrendered to France Savoy and Nice, which declared, if the plebiscite could be trusted, strongly in favour of this course. The annexation was generally regarded as a revival of the old Imperial policy, and the statesmen of Germany remembered that the cupidity of the French had always associated the barrier on the Alpine summits with the *damnosa hereditas* of Richelieu, the frontier of the Rhine. In Southern Italy the Union had many adherents. In Naples the failure of all attempts at reform made the Liberals reckless, and Sicily, where there had been numerous conspiracies during the past few years, broke into rebellion in April. In May Giuseppe Garibaldi landed at Marsala with his "Thousand" red-shirted volunteers, and by July had conquered the country. In September he entered Naples, and obliged Francis II. to fly to Gaeta. Cavour's share in this expedition was of a rather peculiar character, for he had secretly encouraged Garibaldi, supplying him with arms from the arsenal at Milan.

Meanwhile Pius IX. had entrusted the command of his army to the French general Lamoricière, who had recruited troops among the Germans, Irish, Spaniards, and all the outcasts of the different nations, the inglorious adventures of whom afterwards formed a fertile topic of ridicule. Cavour looked upon the army with the greatest contempt, and wrote: "The singular expedient to which Antonelli has resorted of hiring the biggest scamps in Europe at the dirtiest street corners of Switzerland and Germany in order to prop the throne of St. Peter's successor, even if it might have succeeded in the fourteenth century after the Popes had left Avignon, is no longer presentable at this date." The Italian

Government, from its capital at Turin, demanded that the force should be disbanded. As this was refused, an army under Cialdini * and Fanti entered Umbria, routed the rabble at Castelfidardo on September 14th, and forced Lamoricière to capitulate at Ancona. Rome itself was guarded by the French garrison, and an attack would have aroused the wrath of Napoleon ; this was the reason why no assault was made, for, as Cavour said, Victor Emanuel was not afraid of "all the thunderbolts in the cellars of the Vatican." In the meantime Garibaldi's success in the south made matters difficult for Cavour. He had indeed to balance his Machiavellian statecraft against Garibaldi's imprudence and impetuosity. Mazzini strongly urged Garibaldi to form Naples into a republic. There was also the danger that Garibaldi might attack Rome and provoke a rupture with the French. The Italian Parliament declared itself on Cavour's side, and the plebiscites in Naples and Sicily resulted in favour of union. The Sardinian army then moved forward to Capua, and on October 26th, at Teano, Victor Emanuel met Garibaldi, who handed over his power to the King, and after entering Naples together on November 7th he consulted his personal dignity by retiring to his island home at Caprera.

A real Italian kingdom had now been formed, and 23,000,000 subjects acknowledged Victor Emanuel as King. In February, 1861, an Italian Parliament met at Turin ; it contained representatives from Naples, Sicily and Umbria. Cavour hardly lived to see the accomplishment of his great work, for he passed away on June 6th. He was a statesman of abilities to which, in his own age, only those of Bismarck were comparable. He had audacity, judgment, and that appearance of good fortune which is found in conjunction with the greatest talents in generals and politicians. Above everything else he was practical. Italy possessed a great idealist and a band of heroes. But, in the middle of the nineteenth century, these would not suffice to wrest a new nation from the Courts of Europe. By a brilliant handling of the weapons of diplomacy, sometimes by expedients hardly justifiable by success, Cavour vindicated Italy's claim to unity. He advanced trade and education ; he was an

* Enrico Cialdini (1811–1892); Duke of Gaeta ; fought in 1848–1849 ; made a senator 1864 ; oocupied Venice 1866.

enthusiast on agriculture, and no matter was too small to occupy his attention. He saw the future of nations; he gauged with splendid judgment the uprising of Prussia, and so sought King William's friendship. As one who understood his people, Cavour remains one of the finest examples of a patriot and a perfect model of unselfishness. "A free Church in a free State" was his ideal, and if he perished before he succeeded it was he who contributed more than any other to bring it about. Throughout Great Britain his death was universally regretted, and Lord Palmerston said of him, "The tale with which Count Cavour's memory will be associated is one of the most extraordinary, I might say one of the most romantic, in the history of the world. . . . We have seen that people, under his guidance, and at his call, rising from the slumber of ages, breaking that spell with which they had so long been bound, and displaying on just occasions the courage of heroes, the sagacity of statesmen, the wisdom of philosophers, and obtaining for themselves that unity of political existence which for centuries has been denied them."

There was still some work to be done in Italy, although Francis II. had been driven out of Gaeta and Victor Emanuel had been greeted with vociferous cheers as King of Italy. No easy task confronted Cavour's successor, Baron Ricasoli, a man devoted to the cause of unity, but far less capable, less fertile in expedients, and lacking the versatility, adroitness, and enthusiastic popularity of his predecessor. In a very short time he was forced to send in his resignation, and after this virtual dismissal was succeeded by Ratazzi * as principal minister. Difficulties, however, almost immediately arose, for in August, 1862, Garibaldi again attempted a rising in Sicily, his ulterior object being the capture of Rome. He landed in Calabria with a force of 3,000 volunteers, but the Italian Government could not afford to allow this freebooting action, which would have brought them into hostile contact with Napoleon III. For this reason Garibaldi was attacked by his old allies and colleagues, Generals Pallavicini and Cialdini, at Aspromonte, where the great soldier was wounded "by an Italian bullet" and was taken prisoner. The popular sympathy excited by the personal sufferings of Garibaldi did much

* Urbano Ratazzi (1808–1873); Minister of Justice 1853; retired 1858; Minister of the Interior 1859; Prime Minister in 1862 and 1867.

to cause the fall of the Ratazzi ministry. It was succeeded by a ministry of the Right, at first led by Farini, later by Minghetti.* A storm of indignation passed from end to end of Italy against the King's apparent ingratitude to Garibaldi, and universal opinion demanded an amnesty for the beloved hero. Victor Emanuel, however, went on his way, and in September the Italian Premier signed a convention by which the French were gradually to withdraw their troops from Rome. But the Italian Government had to guarantee the Papal territory. The greatest annoyance was caused by a secret clause by which the capital of Italy was to be moved from Turin to Florence, which was done in 1865. So much fury did this arouse that the Minghetti ministry fell.

The incompleteness of the unification of Italy was emphasized by the attitude adopted by the Pope. In December, 1864, Pius IX. issued the *Syllabus*, in which the genuine spirit of the Papacy, unadulterated by compromise or concession, was opposed to the religious principles of modern Europe. Toleration, freedom of worship, the pretensions of the civil power to shelter the members of different sects, were all condemned. Public opinion was incensed by this challenge from the Middle Ages, but the attention of Italy was distracted for a time by the negotiations with Prussia. Bismarck was preparing for the war with Austria and was anxious to secure the alliance of Italy, not only against Austria, but also as a precaution against French interference. On April 8th, 1866, a treaty was signed, by which Italy agreed to join Prussia against Austria, if war broke out within three months. If the war were successful, Italy was to be rewarded by the cession of Venetia.

Immediately before the outbreak of the Seven Weeks' War Francis Joseph had endeavoured to buy off the Italians by offering to cede Venetia in exchange for neutrality, but Victor Emanuel, having given his word to Bismarck, preferred to adhere to his alliance. On the outbreak of war the Archduke Albert, son of that famous Archduke Charles, the antagonist of Napoleon I., was dispatched to Italy with an army of about 135,000 men. At the end of May the Italians had their main

* Marco Minghetti (1818–1886); Secretary of Foreign Affairs 1859–1860; Premier 1863; Italian Minister in London 1868; Prime Minister 1873.

forces in readiness for the invasion. A small army of between 30,000 and 40,000 men under Garibaldi were, if possible, to make an attack upon the Tyrol. Another army of 60,000 lay between Ferrara and Bologna, but the main army of 140,000, under the nominal command of Victor Emanuel, but really led by the Crimean veteran General La Marmora,* lay in Lombardy. This army was divided into three corps under Durandi, Cucchiari, and Della Rocca. By Thursday, June 22nd, the Italian main force had concentrated on the Lombard bank of the Mincio ; the right advanced into the plain of Villafranca ; the left moved towards the hills that run from the lake of Garda to Custozza. Here the great battle was fought on June 24th, the Austrians having proceeded in four lines from Verona, the most northerly crossing both the Adige and Tione, while that on the extreme south penetrated the low range of hills in the neighbourhood of Somma Campagna. The battle was won by skill and pluck over superior strength ; it was a complete victory for the Austrians ; but they were so exhausted by their nineteen hours' marching and fighting that they were unable to pursue the Italian army, now converted into an undisciplined mob. The fight caused heavy loss, for the Austrian list of killed numbered 960, while the wounded totalled 3,690. They also lost a few Jägers, who were captured by the division under Pianelli. The Italians did not lose so many killed, possibly about 760, amongst whom was the general Villarey. The number of prisoners, however, taken by the Austrians was very great, and has been calculated to be about 4,300.

This great blow to the Italian cause was followed in July by another off Lissa. The Austrian navy, under Admiral Tegetthoff,† had been commanded to relieve this place. He was met by Count Persano, and the two fought the only battle that has taken place between ironclads in European waters. The Austrian admiral succeeded in his task, and thus gained a victory, which Count Persano refused to allow, for he had not withdrawn. The Italian people thought otherwise, and the Count was court-martialled and found guilty of having sacrificed his fleet through incompetence. Admiral Tegett-

* A. La Marmora, Marquis de (1804–1878).

† Wilhelm, Baron von Tegetthoff (1827–1871) ; born in Styria.

hoff, on the other hand, was honoured by his sovereign and countrymen.

Before the Italians could make any fresh attempts to undo these mortifying reverses, Königgratz had been fought and won, and, by the arrangement at Nikolsburg, Venetia was offered to Italy. The Italian pride was naturally much hurt, but Victor Emanuel knew that there was no other alternative, and by the Treaty of Vienna, October 3rd, he accepted the much-coveted province. About the same time the French evacuated Rome according to the Convention. Very foolishly Ratazzi encouraged Garibaldi to make a fresh effort to seize the city. Napoleon III., on hearing of the attack, again dispatched a strong French force, and Garibaldi, after defeating the Papal army at Monte Rotondo, was defeated with heavy loss at Mentana on October 3rd. This action, though the Italians owed so much to the French, ended all good feeling between the two nations. The fact was that the Italians were determined to have Rome as their capital ; but it had been reoccupied by the French for an indefinite period. Then came the Franco-Prussian War, and the French troops withdrew from Italian soil. Ten days after the disaster of Sedan the Italian soldiers crossed the frontier of the Papal States. Pius IX. had in the year previous laid down the dogma of Papal infallibility, and he was therefore a determined opponent of the Italian King. Rome was bombarded on September 18th, and in two days capitulated. The Pope chose to remain a prisoner in the Vatican, but the achievement of Italian unity was completed on October 8th, 1870, by the incorporation of Rome in the kingdom of Italy.

NOTES AND DIAGRAMS

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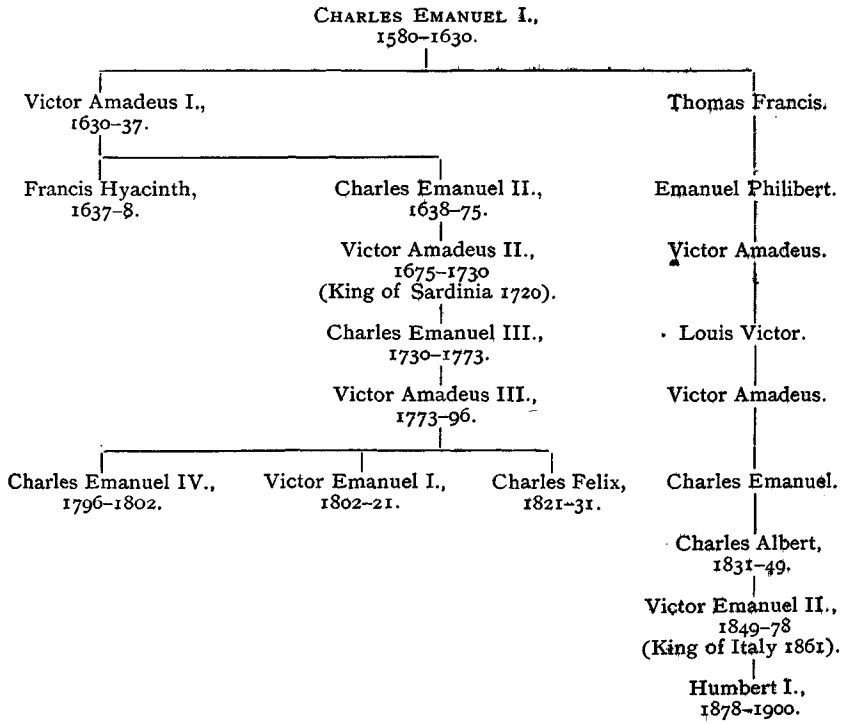
PEDIGREE OF THE HOUSE OF SAVOY



CHAPTER XIII

THE CRIMEAN WAR

1854–1856

THE CHIEF DATES IN THE CONTEMPORARY HISTORY OF INDIA

1852.		The Second Burmese War.
1856.		Lord Canning appointed Governor-General.
1857.		The Indian Mutiny.
	February.	Sepoys refused use of cartridges at Burhampur.
	May.	Arrest of eighty-five men at Meerut.
		The march to Delhi. The siege of Arrah.
		Sindhia of Gwalior sends help.
	June.	Haidarabad disaffected.
		Lucknow invested. Sir H. Lawrence killed.
	July.	Korhapur plundered by Sepoys.
		Lawrence from Punjaub brought help to Delhi.
		Siege of Cawnpur. The massacre by Nana Sahib.
		Havelock's victory at Futteypur. Havelock at Cawnpur.
	September.	Attack on Delhi. Death of Nicholson. Delhi taken.
		Havelock relieved the Lucknow Residency.
	October.	Sir Colin Campbell set out to reduce Oudh.
	November.	Sir Colin Campbell reached Cawnpur and Alambagh.
		Sir Colin Campbell relieved Lucknow. Havelock killed.
		General Wyndham cut off by Tantia Topi.
	December.	Sir Colin Campbell won complete victory at Cawnpur.
1858.	January.	Sir Hugh Rose marched to Sagar.
	February.	Sir Hugh Rose took Rathgarh and relieved Sagar.
		Sir Hugh Rose marched against the Ranee of Jhansi.
		Palmerston introduced his Bill transferring the Government to the Crown.
	March.	Sir Colin Campbell crushed the Mutiny in the North at Lucknow.
	April.	Tantia Topi defeated by Sir Hugh Rose, and Jhansi taken.
		Sir Hugh Rose fought the battle of Kunch, and took Calpee.
	June.	Gwalior captured, and the Ranee died.

IT is difficult to convey any idea of the long-continued unrest of Europe owing to the presence of the Turk. The original Turkish danger lay in the possibility of the whole of Europe being overrun by the Mahomedans, but in modern times the difficulty that has to be faced lies in the unknown results of the dissolution of the Turkish dominions. Great Britain, supported by most of the first-rate Powers, has always advocated the retention of Turkey, and has regularly thrown in her lot with any proposal to bolster up the so-called "Sick Man." Russia, on the other hand, has never regarded this as the wisest scheme, for ever since the days of Peter the

Great, and the foundation of the modern Eastern question, Russia has looked with greedy eyes upon Constantinople and the possessions of the Sultan. Dismemberment has always been the desire of all Russian ministers, a desire accentuated by the traditional ambition of the Czars to obtain the inheritance of the Byzantine Empire.

When the Sultan was endangered by the rising of Mehemet Ali in 1832 Russia stepped forward and offered assistance to the Porte, not for any philanthropic reasons, but because it was imagined that the revolution might place upon the throne at Constantinople a young, energetic, and enthusiastic man who would not be amenable to Russian schemes and proposals. The Sultan recognized the Russian diplomacy, and saw through the hypocrisy of the ministers, but as he himself said, "A drowning man will grasp at a serpent," and he accepted the Russian offer. The alliance was ratified on July 8th, 1833, at the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, where, openly, an offensive and defensive alliance was agreed upon, but secretly the Russians obtained a clause by which the war-vessels of all the other Powers were shut out from the Black Sea. The treaty, as a matter of fact, was a political farce, because it legalized for the future the armed intervention of Russia in Turkish affairs. The French and English were both annoyed by this underhand attempt of Russia to place Turkey under the thumb of the Czar; and Lord Palmerston bitterly denounced the alliance. The Russians, however, found that Mehemet Ali gave them so much trouble that they were obliged to seek the assistance of Great Britain. This led to a conference, which brought about the Treaty of London of 1840, between Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Austria; by it they agreed to keep the "Sick Man" of Turkey alive as long as possible. In doing this they abrogated the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, but the Dardanelles and Bosphorus still remained closed to the warships of all nations, including those of Russia. The Czar solemnly swore to observe this unless commanded by the other Powers to enter the Bosphorus as the protector of the Sultan.

The temporary friendship of Great Britain and Russia was not to last for long; it was unnatural for the lion and bear to walk amicably together. Both parties had views, designs and ambitions that were in opposition, and Russia was un-

doubtedly only cloaking her numerous schemes for satiating her earth hunger until the moment came to grab and seize. It was clearly recognized in England at the time that the policy of the Czar was, in the words of a contemporary, "to bully the weak, to cajole the strong, to seize by force, or to circumvent by fraud." The British had by no means forgotten that the Russians were not only looking to advance in Turkey; they knew quite well that the Czar's ministers were sending missions to Central Asia, and that Afghanistan was not beyond the radius of Russian ambition. For these reasons the quiet that surrounded the Eastern question in 1840 was merely the delusive calm before the great storm. In 1844 Czar Nicholas paid a visit to London, had an interview with Lord Aberdeen, and laid in the Foreign Office a document stating his views on the Eastern question. Lord Palmerston, Lord Aberdeen's successor, not only personally disliked the Russians, but distrusted their diplomacy, which he regarded as shallow and untrustworthy. Nicholas soon learnt that he would never be able to persuade the British minister that the dissolution of Turkey would be advantageous for Europe; and in the next few years his failure forced the Czar to regard the English Government with suspicion and dislike.

In the meantime the Russians had also lost the goodwill of the French nation. The Czar had been the only potentate who had refused to fully acknowledge Napoleon III., when, by the help of Morny and St. Arnauld, the Republic had been shattered and the Second Empire had been created. But this would not have been sufficient to bring the two great nations into open warfare. It was a question that arose in the East which led to one of the most wasteful wars of modern times. Ever since 1740 the guardianship of the Holy Sepulchre and shrines in Palestine had belonged to the Catholics of France. A time came, however, about the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the Greek Church, protected by the Czar, had undertaken the task of repairing the shrines, which France had neglected. In 1850 Napoleon was bent on conciliating the Roman Catholic party, and, in pursuance of this policy, demanded the recognition of the French claim to the custody of the shrines. The Russian Government desired the Porte to refuse this request. The situation, in itself by no means critical, was rendered dangerous by the animosities of the

Czar and the French Emperor. Both contemplated war with equanimity—Napoleon, because he was eager to distract the minds of the French from home affairs; Nicholas, because he thought that war was sooner or later inevitable, and that the present opportunity was the best, as England had been lulled to sleep by the delusive preaching of Bright and Cobden. Besides this fact, Nicholas knew that Lord Aberdeen had an intense dislike for the Turks, and that the British premier would do all in his power to avoid assisting them. Nicholas, however, made a great mistake in forgetting that the English people had a considerable share in their own government, and that they could make their opinions heard. They had long distrusted the Russian plans; every act of Russia had been questionable; every step in her progress had been regarded with suspicion; the talk about a "sick man" was all very well; but what was beyond?

The affair came to a crisis in 1853, when the Russian army was mobilised. This looked like coercion; and worse was soon to follow. The Czar demanded, through Prince Menschikoff,* a hot-tempered and by no means tactful diplomatist, that the guardianship of the Holy Places should be as it had been immediately before this question arose. But the Czar went even beyond this, for he demanded the right to protect under all circumstances the orthodox subjects of the Porte. This was a particularly impudent demand on the part of Russia, for it meant that one-half of the Sultan's subjects were now to become the subjects of the Czar. The Porte was naturally alarmed at this outrageous proposal; and the Sultan, in his extremity, appealed to Colonel Rose (afterwards Lord Strathnairn), in the absence of the real representative of Great Britain, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. Rose was informed by the Grand Vizier that the demands of Menschikoff were totally opposed to the policy of Great Britain and the powers, and at the same time subversive of the definite promises of Russia. The Sultan asked Rose to send for the British fleet, as Menschikoff insisted upon a reply within twenty-four hours. Rose communicated with Admiral Dundas and suggested that the fleet should be brought up to

* Alexander Menschikoff (1789–1869); fought in campaigns 1812–1815; wounded at Varna 1828; commanded at the Alma, Inkerman, and Sebastopol.

Constantinople, but his view did not commend itself to the British Government. On April 10th the demands of the Russian Government were formally presented, and, after a month's interval, were rejected by the Porte on the advice of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. Russia retorted by announcing her intention of occupying the Danubian Principalities as a guarantee. A rupture seemed inevitable, when Austria assumed the part of peacemaker and induced the Western Powers to submit a joint note, composed at a conference at Vienna, to the Governments of Russia and Turkey. The terms proposed were accepted by the Russian Government early in August. Turkey demanded modifications, and the note, in its altered form, was again presented to Russia and by her refused in terms which afforded the Western Powers some justification for siding with Turkey. In October the Porte was encouraged to present an ultimatum, and a Turkish army crossed the Danube with the intention of forcing Russia to evacuate the Principalities.

For the outbreak of hostilities the two Western powers were chiefly responsible. The stubborn attitude of the Porte was due, in a great measure, to the influence of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, and the ultimatum of October would scarcely have been delivered had not the Sultan's hands been strengthened by the appearance of a combined Anglo-French fleet off Constantinople. On November 30th a Turkish squadron was destroyed by the Russians off Sinope. The indignation of the allies was increased by the contrast between the practice of Russia and her declaration, on October 30th, that she would, for the time being, act solely on the defensive. A Turkish success in Asia and the action of the allied fleets had led the Czar to reconsider his decision. Napoleon wished to fight, and the English Government, in which the parties of war and peace had been struggling, was now dominated by Lord Palmerston and the champions of Turkey. A final effort was made to avert hostilities in December, when a note, drafted by the four Powers, was accepted by Turkey. The Czar refused to consider it. The English and French fleets had already entered the Black Sea and were menacing the Russian fleet. In England war was demanded by public opinion, and was declared on March 27th, 1854.

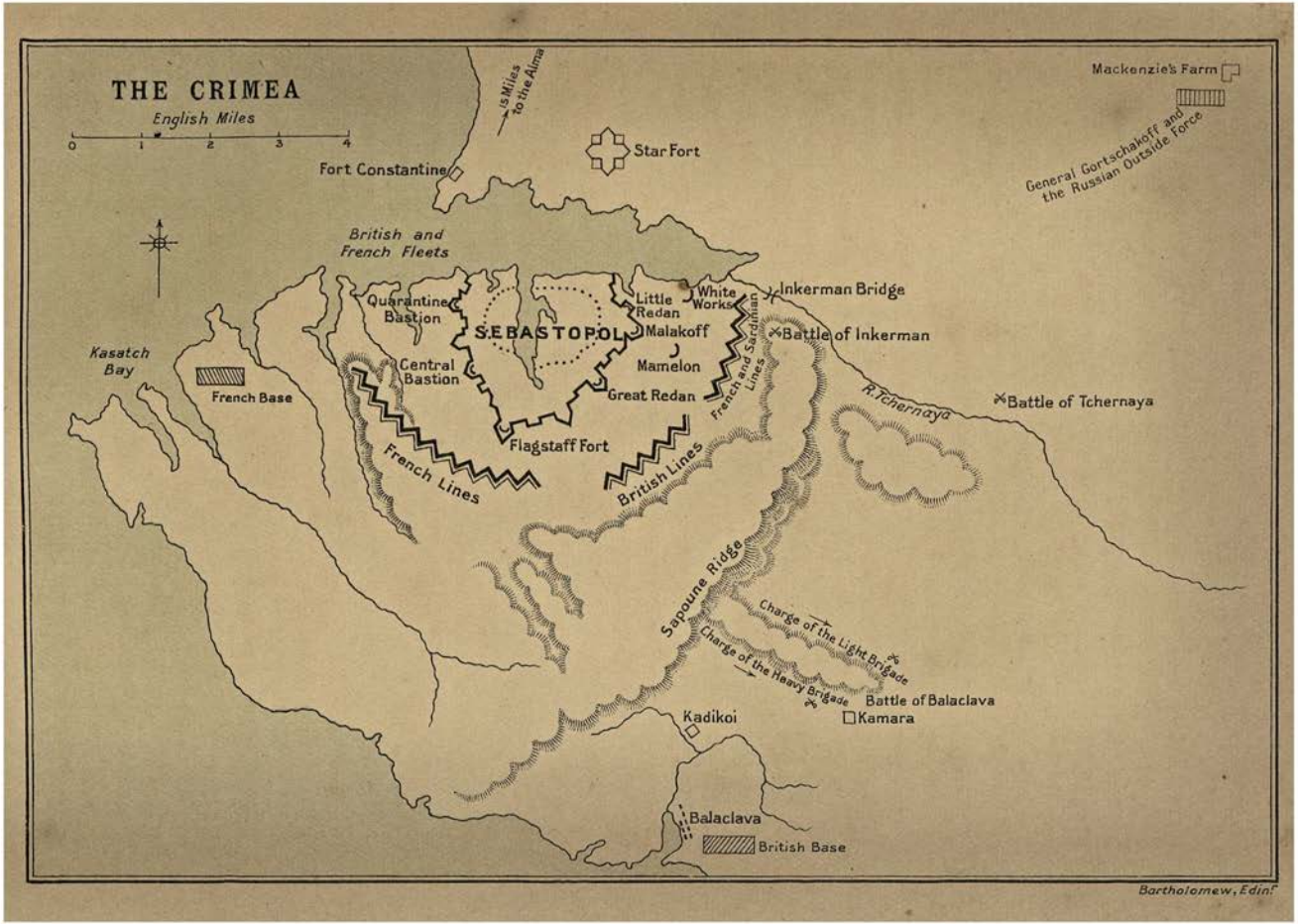
At the very outbreak of the war what was really needed was accomplished. The evacuation of the Principalities was the first main object. The Turks in Silistria, led by a German engineer and two stubborn and gallant English officers, had withstood with effective resistance the siege of Paskievitsch, who lost many thousands of his men in an attack upon an outwork of the fortress. At the same time Austria, fearing the presence of the Russian army so near her borders, had ordered the evacuation of the territories that had been invaded. Russia thought it well to comply, and the order was carried out probably with increased celerity as the Russian general was severely wounded and obliged to retire from his command. With the liberation of these Principalities the alleged reason for the war had ceased to exist. The struggle, however, continued ; first, because a warlike temper had been aroused both in France and especially in England, where the public was dissatisfied with the results of the expedition to the Baltic undertaken by the British fleet under Sir Charles Napier ; and, secondly, because the Western powers were determined that no peace should be made until Russia had been taught a severe lesson and, by concessions, humbled to the dust. It was therefore proposed that the Crimea should be invaded and that Sebastopol, at present by no means strongly fortified, should be taken. Had this been attempted at once it must have proved almost immediately successful, and the war, which was at that moment regarded as a mere expedition, would have ended in a few weeks.

Lord Raglan, formerly known as Lord Fitzroy Somerset, was appointed to the command of the English army. He had long been the sincere friend of the Duke of Wellington, and had much experience as military secretary. He was a man of many excellent qualities ; his judgment was good, his manner was kind and conciliatory, though at the same time commanding. Most important of all, since the army of invasion was a divided one, he had the power of working in harmony, though force of habit made him sometimes speak of the enemy as "the French." Raglan had to work in complete accord with a very different officer, the notorious General Saint Arnauld, who had seen some service in Algiers, where he had gained a reputa-

tion for bravery and harshness. He was a man whose real pretensions for command were founded on the fact that he had largely assisted Napoleon to carry out the *coup d'état*.

The British forces were ordered in June to fortify Gallipoli and were then moved on to Varna, "where they were encamped in a position pleasing to the eye, but which a little inquiry would have shown to be notoriously pestilential." After spending a terrible summer on the unhealthy coast, they embarked for the Crimea, where they were to effect an invasion at once. Lord Raglan, unlike the authorities at home, realized fully the extreme difficulty and danger of the undertaking. The troops had not been prepared for a lengthy campaign; the ships of transport were not ready, and valuable time had to be wasted before the French and English could be shipped across the Black Sea. It was not until September that the troops were landed in the Bay of Eupatoria. In the meantime Prince Menschikoff had been appointed commander-in-chief of the Russian army. Instead of resisting the disembarkation of the British troops by means of the powerful Russian fleet at Sebastopol, he preferred to wait until the allied army was safe on shore. He hoped to destroy the invading army as it traversed some twenty miles which separated its landing-place from Sebastopol, and chose a strong position for his army along the river Alma. So certain was he of his own success that he had only raised for his protection two breastworks known as the Greater and Lesser Redoubts. The former was of some considerable strength, having two short sides for flanking fire and being armed with twelve heavy guns; but the Lesser Redoubt was only defended by field artillery.

It was to this position that the allied forces came on the morning of September 20th. For the first time in modern history the two ancient hereditary foes, the French and English, were actually fighting in alliance. For centuries they had struggled against each other, only forty years before they had been the deadliest enemies in many a fierce contest. Some of the officers in both forces had won their laurels in those very battles, but the old enmity had been buried, and a


THE CRIMEA
English Miles
0 1 2 3 4
15 Miles to the Alma
Fort Constantine
Star Fort
Mackenzie's Farm
General Gortschakoff and the Russian Outside Force
British and French Fleets
Quarantine Bastion
SEBASTOPOL
Little Redan
White Works
Malakoff
Mamelon
Great Redan
Central Bastion
Flagstaff Fort
French and Sardinian Lines
Inkerman Bridge
Battle of Inkerman
Kasatch Bay
French Base
French Lines
British Lines
R. Tchernaya
Battle of Tchernaya
Sapoune Ridge
Charge of the Light Brigade
Charge of the Heavy Brigade
Battle of Balaclava
Kamara
Kadikoi
Balaclava
British Base
Bartholomew, Edinr.

fast friendship apparently existed in all ranks on either side. Unfortunately this amicable relationship did not assist the two commanders to work effectively in touch with each other. The French wanted to go one way, the English another. The result was that when the French had climbed the hill some of them found no enemy to confront them, and the rest did not push their attack with sufficient energy to be of real assistance to the British troops, upon whom the burden of the battle of the Alma fell.

At the beginning of the engagement the Light Division was commanded by Lord Raglan to advance. The order was carried out with the greatest difficulty, for the men had to move through vineyards, which broke their formation. Codrington, who was in command, felt that it was his duty to push on, loyally supported by his colonels, in particular by Lacy Yea of the 7th Fusiliers. So splendidly, indeed, did the Light Division make their pell-mell rush that, against tremendous odds, they managed to take the first Redoubt. They were unable to hold the position gained, for they had outdistanced the rest of the army; but scarcely had they withdrawn when the Guards made a gallant advance and the whole army pushed across the river. The fate of the battle was partly decided by an accident. Lord Raglan and his staff had ridden round a burning village, and, having lost their bearings, reached a small hillock in the midst of the enemy. Raglan at once noted their position and the weakness of the Russian defence. Two guns were immediately sent for, and these were soon in full play. In the meantime, the Scots Guards and Coldstreams had taken up a position near Codrington's Light Division. The battle raged round them so fiercely that someone is said to have exclaimed, "The Brigade will be destroyed." But Colin Campbell relied upon his fellow-Scots, and his trust was not misplaced. They drove back twelve Russian battalions, and finally the British force was able to seize the strategic position of Kourgané Hill.

The French had now succeeded in coming up, after Marshal Canrobert * had defeated Kisiakoff at Telegraph Hill. The

* François Certain Canrobert (1809–1895); fought in Algeria; supported Napoleon in December, 1851; wounded at the Alma; fought at Magenta and Solferino; fought in Franco-German war; taken prisoner,

Russians were forced to retire on all sides, which they did in orderly manner until out of sight of the allied forces ; a moment later the flying troops became a hopeless rabble and the army of the Czar was dispersed. Now would have been the moment to crush all the hopes of Russia, but, unfortunately, when Raglan proposed it, Saint Arnauld said that his men could go no further, for they had left their knapsacks behind them. This fatal delay was the most disastrous in the whole war. Had Raglan's advice been taken, and more energy been shown on the part of the French, there is little doubt that a crushing blow would have been administered, and Sebastopol might have fallen.

The great object of the battle of the Alma was the capture of the town of Sebastopol. Great Britain had wasted 2,000 lives, and the fulfilment of the object was further off than ever. The military and naval depôt of Sebastopol is situated on a long inlet. The harbour was, at that time, protected by batteries, and the northern heights were crowned with Star Fort. When the allied forces approached the town after the battle of the Alma, Sebastopol was in no way impregnable, and for this reason Raglan advocated an immediate attack ; and such an advance would certainly have had a considerable chance of success. Again Saint Arnauld wished to delay, and insisted on the danger of such an attack, pointing out that there was a huge earthwork in the way. The precious moment was allowed to slip away, and the armies marched round the fortress to take possession of the southern heights of the Crimea. The British were only once molested, and, having driven off the enemy, took the harbour of Balaclava, which Canrobert, who had now succeeded the dying Saint Arnauld, offered to yield to the British. The acceptance of this was by no means advantageous to the British, because the French ships obtained far better berths in another commodious anchorage.

Menschikoff had now withdrawn all the troops from Sebastopol and had garrisoned it with sailors from the ineffectual navy, some of the ships of which he had sunk across the harbour, thus preventing an attack from the sea. The French generals ought to have seen that by giving the Russians time they were simply playing into their hands. Besides this, there were in Sebastopol Admiral Korniloff and Colonel von

Todleben,* men of extraordinary genius and skill. These two made superhuman efforts. They had vast supplies both from the military establishment and from the fleet that had been dismantled. The spirit of the one and the ingenuity of the other were employed to make the garrison as strong as possible. Time was all that they wanted, and the fatal irresolution of the allies gave them that.

At last, however, the bombardment of Sebastopol began on October 17th, 1854. The position of the besiegers was far more uncomfortable than that of the besieged, the soldiers having been equipped for a dashing expedition and not for a long and sustained campaign. Menschikoff's army was ever ready to harass the allies in their work against von Todleben. Sir Colin Campbell's defences of Balaclava had for some time been seriously menaced by the advance of the Russian army, and by October 25th Liprandi was within striking distance. Lord Raglan had been informed of the danger, but he thought that it was only a ruse, and contented himself with moving forward some cavalry regiments. The Russians commenced by attacking some Turkish redoubts, and the Turks, though they fought very bravely, were forced to retire from their entrenchments, leaving in the hands of the Russians some English guns. Two divisions of the British army were at once dispatched to the assistance of Campbell's troops, but before they came up the enemy surprised the Heavy Brigade of Cavalry. Its commander, General Scarlett, led a portion of the brigade against 2,000 of the Russian horse soldiers. The British cut their way through the opposing mass and then reformed to charge back again. Their doom was an absolute certainty, but at that moment the other regiments that went to make up the full strength of the brigade came up, and the Russian cavalry were driven back.

Lord Raglan was by this time in a fever of anxiety because his infantry came into action so slowly. Having seen how much the cavalry had already accomplished, he thought he might call upon it once again to do more. For this reason he sent a written order to Lord Lucan to try to gain the redoubt and the seven guns which had been lost by

* Eduard Ivanovitch Todleben (1818–1884); fought in Turkish war 1877–1878; took Plevna.

the Turks. Lucan apparently did not understand the message ; at any rate he did not move. Captain Nolan was again sent, telling him to take the guns. Lucan asked, " Which guns ? " " The enemy is there," said Nolan, " there are your guns." Then took place that famous and ever-glorious charge of the Light Brigade. Lord Cardigan with 673 men, not knowing why, but obeying the orders of Lucan, charged impetuously across the valley against the Russian guns. They never reasoned or questioned, but uselessly braved the tornado of flame and shell ; uselessly they met their deaths, but they earned undying and everlasting glory. The feelings that tore the hearts of those who witnessed the awful tragedy can never be described. This act of blind self-devotion and heroism filled their minds, like those of the civilized world, with rage and admiration. The deed was heroic ; the men had established the prowess of the British ; but this having been accomplished, the commanders of the allied forces saw that Liprandi and his men must be left in possession of the field and the captured guns.

About the date of the battle of Balaclava, the Russians were cheered into the belief that Sebastopol might be saved by the arrival of large reinforcements, so that the Russian army now numbered 100,000 men as opposed to the mere 70,000 of the allies, who were in a strange country, ill-equipped, ill-supported, and only too liable to factious quarrels. On November 5th was fought the greatest battle of the war. The Russian army, strongly reinforced, hoped to render untenable the position of the invaders and to raise the siege by driving the enemy off the heights round Balaclava. The method they adopted was a surprise attack upon the British camp, and early in the morning they delivered an assault upon the 2nd Division. Its commander, Sir de Lacy Evans, was suffering from the results of an accident, and General Pennefather took his place. The morning was dull and heavy with mist, and the Russians, who had great numerical superiority, never realised against how small a force they were operating. Pennefather decided not to concentrate his troops, but to attempt to save his entire line, and Lord Raglan acquiesced in his decision. Thus the battle of Inkerman was really a series of more or less isolated combats at different points in the line of defences of the 2nd

Division camp. Other portions of the army were summoned to the aid of the 2nd Division, and some assistance was given by the French. From six o'clock in the morning until the late afternoon these fierce combats went on. When, at last, the Russians retreated, Lord Raglan urged General Canrobert to pursue them and deliver a striking blow, but he declined to join in such an attempt, and the enemy retired almost unmolested. They had lost 10,000 men in killed, wounded and prisoners. The battle of Inkerman, in the opinion of a high authority, decided the fate of Sebastopol. It proved that the allies could keep their hold in the Crimea; and having the command of the sea, they were able to continue the struggle, persistently and doggedly, to the end.

The winter came upon the allies before they could realize what preparations would be necessary. That fatal year of 1854 the cold came earlier than usual, and by the middle of November the Crimea was seized by the grip of frost and snow. The horrors of winter were intensified by mismanagement. Everything went wrong. Supplies were not really scanty, food was not really scarce, but it could not be got up from the base of operations. The winter proved far more disastrous than the shot and shell of the Russians, and the allied armies wasted away with cold and disease. Then, too, the elements seemed to combine against the British, and the wind and waves "entered into rivalry with the rage of man, for a hurricane unexampled even on that stormy coast swept over the allied fleet, and engulfed men, ships, stores, and treasures of a number and amount hardly paralleled in the annals of disaster." Cholera then broke out amongst the rank and file, and constitutions weakened by privation readily succumbed to this terrible disease. At the end of February, 1855, there were 13,000 men in hospital at Scutari. Florence Nightingale, who went to the Crimea in the autumn of 1854, organised the nursing with the aid of a band of devoted women, and, with the coming of spring, the worst was over.

But the organised newspaper correspondence had let England into the grisly secret. England had forgotten the Napoleonic wars, and the new impression was vivid and painful. In January, 1855, Roebuck moved for a commission of inquiry into the conduct of the war. Russell declared that

"he did not see how the motion could be resisted" and resigned; the Government was defeated, and, after a week of fruitless negotiations, Lord Palmerston became Prime Minister. The new ministry pressed forward vigorously the organisation of the war, but, at the same time, showed itself prepared to come to terms. In the previous summer Great Britain had joined Austria in proposing a settlement, which would secure four principles: free navigation of the Danube; an International protectorate of the Danubian provinces; the integrity of the Turkish Empire; the immunity of Turkey from Russia's interference on behalf of her co-religionists. Negotiations were resumed on this basis after the death of Nicholas, which occurred on March 2nd, 1855.

He had said after Inkerman that, even if Menschikoff were defeated, he had two generals who would still serve him well, Generals January and February. This had indeed been true, but General February had turned against his master and attacked him, so that in the first days of March a new Czar, Alexander II., ascended the Russian throne, "and the seventh part of the globe received a new master." A conference met at Vienna, but in April negotiations were ruptured; the war went on, and Sebastopol appeared impregnable. Every day trenches, ditches, and rifle-pits were brought nearer to the city, and every day there were sorties and hand-to-hand encounters between the besiegers and besieged. The Malakoff Tower was the great point of attack, and it was from this stronghold that the sorties were made, and it was against this that any final attack would be concentrated. By the middle of June both the French and British were much disheartened by the Russians' successful resistance; whilst the British in particular were cast down by the death of Lord Raglan, a gallant soldier and a brave man. His loss was a very distinct one, and was still further magnified by the appointment of his successor, General Simpson, a man well advanced in years, lacking dash and vigour, and obviously far less able than Raglan had been.

At last the French and British made a combined attack upon Sebastopol on September 8th. The former were to take the Malakoff and the latter the Redan. The French succeeded, but the arrangements of the British commander-in-chief were so faulty that he was unable either to

assist General Pélissier * or take the Redan. After a severe struggle and terrible waste of life the British retired, but the French had seized the Malakoff, the key of the position, and the days of Sebastopol were numbered. Strenuous as had been the work of Todleben it was to prove of no avail. The Black Sea fortress, the city of naval and military stores, the arsenal of Russia, was taken by the allies on September 10th. The expedition which ended in the siege and capture of this great stronghold was an astonishing example of heroism on both sides. A few months later, on November 25th, General Mouravieff forced General Fenwick Williams and his two British coadjutors to surrender Kars, and the Crimean War was concluded.

Great battles had been fought and won, the struggle had been nobly sustained. Two out of the four belligerent powers clamoured for peace. The state of the Russian finances was a sufficient cause to make the Czar ready to come to terms. Napoleon III. imagined that he had succeeded in doing what he had set out to do. He had hoped to lead the minds of the French from home affairs and gain popularity and glory for his youthful empire. As far as the mysteries of the future and of destiny could be pierced he seemed to have succeeded, and so he, too, was ready for peace. Neither Great Britain nor Turkey were quite so anxious to lay down their arms. They both thought that for the future peace of the world more should be wrested from Russia than was possible at that juncture. But Napoleon showed signs of deserting the alliance, and Palmerston acquiesced in the Treaty of Paris, which was signed on March 30th, 1856. The integrity of Turkey was guaranteed and Kars was restored to her rule. The Danube was declared a free river, and the Danubian Principalities were restored to their former position. It was also agreed that Sebastopol should be evacuated, and the Black Sea should be shut to men-of-war. The Sultan was to grant to his Christian subjects equality of treatment with those of his own faith. The latter clauses were proved by time to be utterly useless. In 1871, after the Franco-Prussian War, the Czar, supported by Bismarck, repudiated the Black Sea

* Amable Jean Jacques Pélissier (1794–1864); served in Spain 1823; Morea 1828, Algeria 1830; suffocated 500 Arabs; made Duc de Malakoff; French ambassador in London 1858–1859; Governor of Algeria.

agreement; and in the same year, below the slopes where thousands of lives had been lost, Sebastopol again rose from its ruins as a great naval arsenal of Russia. England holds Egypt, the prize which Nicholas suggested in 1853. Turkey has continued to disappoint the expectations of friend and foe, and is only now beginning, after half-a-century, to inspire her neighbours with confidence for the future. Deprived of the hope of an outlet on the Mediterranean by the establishment of the Balkan States, Russia has continued to advance in Central Asia and even to endanger British influence along the Indian frontier. Her determination not to be dammed back from the sea has forced her to advance to the furthest confines of the East, and she has sought harbours on the Pacific which have in recent years brought her in contact with the youngest of civilized nations. The Treaty of Paris was regarded as the crowning act of the wisdom of the European powers; later and more recent history has taught that the work then done has inevitably been undone in all directions. Sir Spencer Walpole has written that "Huge and horrible as the death-roll was, it does not tell the whole story. From 1815 to 1854 the Continent of Europe had practically enjoyed peace; no two of the great European powers had, at any rate, been engaged in war with each other. But from 1856 to 1878 the Continent of Europe was afflicted with five great wars—the Franco-Austrian of 1859; the Danish of 1864; the Austro-Prussian of 1866; the Franco-German of 1870; and the Russo-Turkish of 1878—all of which can be lineally traced to the war of 1854. Thus the obscure and unintelligible dispute about the custody of the Holy Places developed into a quarrel which let loose war upon Europe and terminated the forty years of peace which had followed Waterloo."*

* C.M. H., Vol. XI., p. 324.

NOTES AND DIAGRAMS

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CONTEMPORARY EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

1851. Lord John Russell resigned in February, but returned to office in March.
Lord Palmerston resigned and Lord Granville became Foreign Secretary.
1852. Lord John Russell resigned and was succeeded by Lord Derby.
Death of the Duke of Wellington.
Lord Derby resigned and was succeeded by Lord Aberdeen.
1853. Gladstone introduced his first budget.
A new India Bill was passed.
1854. The beginning of the Crimean War.
1855. Lord Aberdeen resigned and was succeeded by Lord Palmerston.
1856. The case of the Wensleydale Peerage.
The Treaty of Paris.
1857. The Indian Mutiny.
Commercial panic in England.
1858. Lord Palmerston resigned and was succeeded by Lord Derby.
Jews admitted to Parliament.
1859. The beginning of the modern volunteer movement.
Lord Palmerston again became Prime Minister in June.
1860. Cobden's Treaty of Commerce with France.

CHAPTER XIV

THE RIVALRY BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA

1846–1866

EVENTS IN FRANCE, RUSSIA AND SPAIN NOT MENTIONED IN THE CHAPTER

Date.	*France.*	*Russia.*	*Spain.*
1854.	The Crimean War.	The Crimean War.	Espartero became Prime Minister.
1856.	The Peace of Paris.	The Peace of Paris. An amnesty granted to the Poles.	Fall of Espartero, succeeded by O'Donnell. He was succeeded by Narvaez.
1857.	Commercial Treaty with Russia.	Napoleon and the Czar meet at Stuttgart.	Armero's ministry.
1858.	Orsini attempted to assassinate Napoleon.	The emancipation of the serfs begun.	O'Donnell at the head of the administration.
1859.	Napoleon III. joined Victor Emanuel in the Italian War of Liberation.	Russia pacified the Caucasus.	Spain at war with Morocco.
1860.	The Treaty of Turin. French expedition sent to Syria.	Riots in Poland.	Peace with Morocco.
1861.	The Mexican War. Treaty of Commerce with Turkey.	Emancipation of serfs completed.	Spain annexed San Domingo.
1863.	The sovereignty of Mexico was offered to Maximilian, Archduke of Austria.	Harsh suppression of the second Polish insurrection.	
1864.	The Convention for the withdrawal of French troops from Rome.	Nobles' lands in Poland given to the peasants.	Narvaez became Spanish Prime Minister.
1865.	...	Annexation of Tashkent.	
1866.	...	...	Miscarriage of General Prim's insurrection. War with Chili and Peru.

No more difficult, complicated, and important question has arisen in modern European politics than that of Schleswig-Holstein. As far back as the year 1460 the two Duchies had been united to the kingdom of Denmark, and though they remained within this union for many centuries it is surprising, for there were many reasons why there should be frequent occasions for quarrel. Holstein was part of the Holy Roman Empire, while Schleswig was not. This was sufficiently incongruous, but a still more awkward situation might at any moment arise from the fact that Denmark was free from the Salic law, while the two Duchies were bound by that survival

of ancient custom. In 1806 Frederick VI. of Denmark had attempted to incorporate the Duchies within the Constitution, but the heirs of the House of Augustenburg, which had its origin in the same progenitor as that of Denmark, successfully combated the attempt of Frederick, and matters remained in *statu quo*. The real trouble began in 1846, when Christian VIII. claimed that his sister Charlotte and her heirs were the natural successors to Schleswig and Lauenburg. It was now that the connection between Holstein and Germany made itself apparent, and the Holsteiners seized the opportunity of appealing to the German Diet. Two years later matters were still further complicated, for Frederick VII. had succeeded Christian VIII. and issued a Constitution that was to embrace both Duchies. The conflict of races now seriously began. Holstein immediately arose in revolt, and the Duke of Augustenburg asked for the intervention of Prussia, which Frederick William readily accorded. General Wrangel occupied Schleswig, entered Jutland, seized Fridericia on May 2nd, 1848, and drove out the Danes.

At this point the powers thought that it was necessary to intervene, for they looked with alarm upon any possible dismemberment of the territory of Denmark in favour of Germany, and opinion in Great Britain was much influenced by the Danish politician Orla Lehmann. For these reasons Prussia, at the Convention of Malmoe on August 26th, was ready to yield to the Danish demands, and a truce was concluded for seven months. Frederick William, however, by his action was regarded by the German reformers as a renegade, and was spoken of as a traitor to the cause of the Duchies. He was vigorously opposed by the Schleswig-Holsteiner Dahlmann, but ultimately the truce was approved on September 16th. As has been already noticed, the pressure that Schwarzenburg placed on Prussia was sufficient cause for the King's action. In 1849, however, a fresh difficulty arose. The powers had intervened, and had decided in London that the Duchies should be separate. But Denmark, although England impressed upon her the necessity of moderation and prudence, refused to accept the verdict, and Prussia, therefore, once more declared war against Frederick VII. on April 3rd. The Düppel redoubts were taken by Saxon and Bavarian troops on April 13th, but, as a counter-

balance, the Danes drove back the Schleswig-Holsteiners under General von Bonin at Fridericia. The Czar now took some interest in the situation, for, as the heir of the elder line of the House of Gottorp, he was closely connected with Schleswig-Holstein. He asserted his right to intervene in the cause of order, and threatened to interfere in Holstein by force of arms. Prussia saw the opportunity of winning Russia from Schwarzenburg, and in 1850 Frederick William threw himself into the arms of the Czar. But to the annoyance of Prussia, peace had to be concluded with Denmark on July 2nd, and Frederick VII. remained Duke of Holstein.

This did not settle the question. The people of Holstein resented the decision of the powers, and, supported by German popular opinion, they openly defied Denmark. The army of 30,000 men, commanded by General von Willisen, struggled hard, but met with defeat at Idstedt on July 25th, and at Friedrichstadt on September 7th. By the end of the year, on December 7th, the plucky attempt of the Duchies subsided owing to the resignation of their general; and on January 28th, 1852, Frederick VII. took possession of the two provinces. Another conference of the Powers in the same year determined that Prince Christian, the heir of the House of Glücksburg, should ultimately succeed. Between 1854 and 1855 Denmark endeavoured to get a firm grip upon the Duchies by conferring upon them a new Constitution under which they would be subordinated to the majority at Copenhagen. But three years later the German Diet decided that this Constitution of 1855 should not apply to either Lauenburg or Holstein. These continual interferences kept the question in a state of unrest, and at last, in 1860, the estates of the Duchies were at open issue with the Danish Parliament. Once again both Austria and Prussia intervened, and commanded Denmark to restore the indissoluble union of Schleswig with Holstein. The quarrel, however, continued, and in 1862 Lord John Russell proposed a form of compromise which brought the Danes into direct collision with the Powers. Denmark was not to be bullied out of what she regarded as her rights, and on March 30th, 1863, a new Constitution was proclaimed, which infringed the agreement of 1852 in two ways; it included Holstein in the proclamation

without consulting her, and it involved the formal annexation of Schleswig. Public opinion in Germany strongly condemned this action. The Federal Diet demanded that the Charter should be withdrawn and, when the Danish Government remained stubborn, prepared to use force. On November 15th, the King of Denmark, Frederick VII., died. His successor, Christian IX., put the Constitution into operation. Thereupon Frederick, Prince of Augustenburg, son of the claimant who had renounced the Duchies in 1852, laid claim to the succession and was supported by Baden, Coburg, and other principalities. In December Saxon and Hanoverian troops overran Holstein, and Augustenburg assumed the title of Frederick VIII.

In this action neither Prussia nor Austria took any definite part; they had determined to adhere to the agreement of 1852. Austria's chief interest in the question of the Duchies was her desire not to run counter to public opinion in the German Confederation. But fear of Napoleon's ambition forced her to co-operate with Prussia. Bismarck aimed at acquiring the whole or part of the disputed territory for Prussia, and, by a striking success, reconciling his domestic enemies to his policy. His strategy was obscure and remained generally unpopular, but he persisted, in defiance of the Prussian chamber. On January 14th the Federal Diet refused to continue the execution of the resolutions of 1852, and it became possible for Austria and Prussia to act independently. On January 16th it was agreed to present an ultimatum demanding the repeal of the November constitution. Rechberg, the Austrian minister, would have liked Bismarck to have laid down a definite policy, but the astute Prussian could not be persuaded to divulge his plans. Schleswig was then occupied, to force Denmark to observe the protocol of 1852, and within a fortnight the Danes were driven from the Duchies. This was accomplished by a combined force of 45,000 men under the command of Wrangel, with von Gablenz and Prince Frederick Charles as his subordinates. The Danes opposed them by a much smaller force of 36,000 men under General de Meza. The Prussians had expected resistance at the celebrated line of the Dannewerke, but on February 6th found that it had been evacuated, and that the Danes had left 154 guns and large quantities of

stores. The great stand was at the redoubt of Düppel, which consisted of a formidable line of defence, but was taken by Prince Frederick Charles, who "rivalled or excelled in his boastful proclamations the most bombastic generals of America or of France." The Danish loss was tremendous, for in dead, wounded and prisoners it was computed to have amounted to 5,500 men. The main army retired to the island of Alsen; a truce was called, and a Conference met in London on April 25th to discuss the situation.

In the face of a general demand for aggressive action, Bismarck contented himself with stipulating that the Duchies should form independent parts of the Danish sovereign's dominions, and that Schleswig should be admitted to the Germanic Confederation. The Eider-Danes refused, and the conferences ended fruitlessly. Meanwhile, Bismarck had been in negotiation with Prince Frederick of Augustenberg. He had offered to recognise his claims, but only on condition that Prussia should control the post, the railways, and the army. Early in June these terms were refused, and the news at last reconciled Prussian opinion to Bismarck's policy. Austria was compelled to support him, and on June 24th, 1864, their alliance was renewed on the understanding that the Duchies should be separated from Denmark. The war again broke out; the Prussians captured the island of Alsen on June 29th, and were preparing for still further aggression, when the Danish Government capitulated. The Eider-Danish ministry, under the stubborn Mourad, gave way to a new ministry under Bluhme, which immediately offered to negotiate, and finally, by a treaty signed at Vienna on November 30th, the two Duchies were handed over to Austria and Prussia.

The apparent settlement of the question only increased the tension between the two Powers. Schmerling, the Minister of Home Affairs, and Privy Councillor von Biegeleben urged the Emperor to remain firm, for they saw the danger of Austria losing her leadership in Europe. For this reason General Count Mensdorf, who had succeeded Rechberg,* proposed to Bismarck that Prussia should be allowed to incorporate the Duchies if Lower Silesia were ceded to Austria, and if Prussia would guarantee to the Emperor his

* Albert, Count von Rechberg, born 1803.

non-German territories. The Holsteiners and the lesser princes still desired that Augustenburg should be given his rights, and even at the court in Berlin there were many, under the leadership of the Crown Prince Federick, who favoured him. Bismarck was, therefore, almost alone in his determination to incorporate the Duchies with Prussia. Count Mensdorf assumed an aggressive tone in his dispatches. Bismarck, whose diplomacy had not yet matured, delayed his answer until February, 1865, when he retorted by claiming control of the Duke's army and finances. The Austrian ministers encouraged the agitation on behalf of Augustenburg but were not in a position to contemplate the immediate outbreak of hostilities. This put them at a serious disadvantage as compared with Bismarck. Moltke had declared that Prussia was well prepared for war, and a meeting was actually held at Berlin on May 29th to discuss the advisability of such a course. Vienna had, therefore, to give way before the dictatorial demands from the Prussian capital. The King of Prussia at last informed the Emperor that the state of the Duchies must be decided, and that Prussia would undertake to settle the matter without Austrian assistance. Austria was in no state to resent this ultimatum, and the outcome of it was that the Emperor met King William at Gastein on August 14th, 1865. By the convention that was here signed it was decided that Schleswig should be governed by Prussia, Holstein was to be under the administration of Austria, and Lauenburg should pass to Prussia in return for a money payment. Prussian influence was now paramount in Germany.

Bismarck's success had been due, in part, to his determination to act in defiance of public opinion until it was reconciled to his methods by their success ; but still more to Austria's fear of Napoleon and to her inability to face the risk of immediate war. Prussia, on the other hand, had for some time been completing her military reorganization. For many years after Scharnhorst's reforms nothing had been done to improve the army. The great work that had been carried out at the close of the Napoleonic period had been regarded as satisfactory, and the Prussian army had remained untouched. It was, indeed, the defective conditions that had crept into the military system that had been the chief cause

of Prussia's submission to Austria at the Treaty of Olmütz in 1850, and there can be no question that had Prussia been in possession of a strong force the king would not have complied so willingly with the schemes of Schwarzenburg. A change in method was soon made when Frederick William IV. became so seriously ill that his brother William had to accept the regency. He was a soldier by profession and habit, and between 1859 and 1860 inaugurated reform. He was urged to undertake this work, both by the inclination of his own character, and because he recognized that the rivalry between Prussia and Austria demanded that reorganization should be at once effected. He understood perfectly that Austria was not only jealous of the power of Prussia, but that she actually feared any increase of her military strength. He saw, too, that if Germany was ever to be united under the leadership of Prussia it was absolutely essential to make Prussia strong. Scharnhorst's schèmes had, at the time they were carried out, been excellent ; he had made "the standing army the school for the war training of the nation." The Prussians had been obliged to serve three years with the colours, two years in the war reserve, and seven years in the first and second militia. But between 1814 and 1860 the total population of Prussia had doubled, while the regiments remained the same size. Thus it was clear that a very large number of men were escaping military service, and the number was calculated to be at least 25,000. To remedy this obvious mistake it was now proposed to make some radical changes for the strengthening of Prussia. Thirty-nine new infantry battalions and ten new cavalry regiments were to be raised at once. By this means it was hoped to increase the annual levy of those bound to serve for three years from 40,000 to 60,000 men. The old Landwehr was to be abolished, but the men who were thus turned out were not to be allowed to escape serving their country, for they were to be divided between the war reserve and the garrisons. At the same time it was decided that the law of universal military service was to be far more strictly observed, and no able-bodied citizen was to be allowed to shirk his duty. The forces of Prussia were not to be merely an army, but a nation in arms. To superintend these reforms, on which the existence of Prussia as a great power really depended, the

able and conscientious General von Roon * was made Minister of War. The scheme did not pass without much opposition on the part of the German Liberals. They argued hotly that Prussian military strength had not in the past been employed in the furtherance of German unity, and they insisted, not without some reason, that in adding to her armaments Prussia would only increase the jealousy of the other powers. But, though the opposition was strenuous, the Regent William carried out his reforms, and on January 1st, 1861, the standards of the new regiments were consecrated; and on the very next day William succeeded his brother as king of a country which was soon to be the greatest military power in the world.

Prussia, after the Treaty of Gastein in 1865, was, therefore, better prepared for the inevitable war. The only hope of preserving the peace was that Austria might be tempted to sell Holstein, a chance which was most remote. Not only was Prussia's strength augmented by the possession of a powerful army, but Austria had lowered her position in Germany by her settlement at Gastein. The greater number of the German States had come to dislike a power which had so shaken their confidence in making a separate agreement with Prussia, and, in particular, Bavaria and Saxony were ready at any moment to show the annoyance that had been caused, and actually illustrated their irritation by the recognition of the kingdom of Italy. Besides, Austria was much weakened by troubles on her Eastern borders. The diverse nations which helped to compose the Austrian state, the Poles of Galicia, the Czechs of Bohemia and the Slavonic tribes alike resented the Council of Empire in which the Germans predominated. In Hungary the Magyars steadfastly refused to exchange their traditional liberties for the united Parliament which had been proposed by the Imperial Constitution of 1861.

Bismarck had consented to the armistice because his preparations were not yet complete. Had Russia and Austria drifted nearer to the verge of war, Bismarck would have had three difficulties to face: the king's reluctance to make war, the isolation of Prussia, and the danger of the hostility of

* Albrecht Theodor Emil, Count von Roon (1803–1879); created count 1871 field-marshal 1873.

France. Against the two latter of these he took immediate precautions. Italy was marked out by her history and ambitions as the natural ally of Prussia in a war with Austria. But Victor Emanuel's consent was contingent on that of Napoleon III. For this reason, and because French neutrality was in itself of the utmost importance, Bismarck sought an interview with the French Emperor. Napoleon was bound by obligation to assist the Italian nation in the struggle for unity; he had a strong though vague belief in Nationality as a general principle; and he was eager for a diplomatic victory which would obliterate the approaching disaster of his Mexican venture. It was characteristic of Bismarck's adroitness that Napoleon promised neutrality and sanctioned the annexation of the Duchies and even, in the general terms, the unification of Germany. In return there was, no doubt, mention of compensation on the eastern frontier of France, but as to Bismarck's intentions Napoleon learnt nothing of importance. Bismarck had learnt what was all important.

Bismarck next turned to Italy. Negotiations hinged on the possession of Venetia. Bismarck definitely informed Nigra, the Italian minister at Paris, that war was inevitable. If war came with Austria, and if Austria were defeated, the possession of her Italian provinces was the question of the utmost importance. The newly formed kingdom of Italy naturally wished to round off her dominions by the incorporation of Venetia and the expulsion of Austrian control in Italian territory. Napoleon III. was much perturbed by the situation. He knew very well that he had definitely pledged his word to free Italy to the Adriatic, and he foresaw that the failure to fulfil this pledge might possibly mean the collapse of his power and the downfall of his dynasty in France. What he particularly feared was that Austria and Prussia might come to an amicable settlement of the difficulties, and that a reconciliation might be made on the understanding that if Austria renounced her rights with regard to the Duchies Prussia in exchange might guarantee to the Emperor his possessions in Italy. It was even possible, that, in order to isolate Prussia, Austria might surrender Venetia to Victor Emanuel. But this was a most unlikely outcome of the situation, because of the honourable pride of Count

Mensdorf, whose chief aim was to recover the lost influence of Austria, and also because there was a strong military party in Austria which would hardly tolerate such a solution. Still the possibility, and their mutual suspicions, kept Prussia and Italy apart.

Bismarck was not without his own suspicions of all the parties concerned. He knew that the Italians might obtain the territory of Venetia as a gift and offer to Austria a Prussian province in exchange. Nor had he been hoodwinked by the words of Napoleon III. He knew perfectly well that the Emperor was being pulled in two directions. He understood that the personal sympathy of the Emperor of the French lay with the rising power of Prussia. Bismarck was quite as surely convinced that the Empress Eugenie, backed by that strong clerical party for which the Prussian minister had so much dislike, was urging Napoleon to throw in his lot with an Italian and Catholic cause. Nor was Bismarck quite sure of what might happen in Germany itself. His wish was to make Prussia the leader of Germany, but his work might be undone at any moment, before war was declared, by peaceful union between the two would-be combatants.

Bismarck began his delicate task in January, 1866. He entered into a commercial treaty with Italy, which he also persuaded Bavaria to join. On January 13th he wrote to Baron von Usedom that if Italy joined him against Austria there would be war, but if not he would not enter upon war alone. He thus cleverly placed the responsibility upon the Italians. On February 28th, 1866, he sent General von Moltke to Florence to sound the true state of feeling in the Italian kingdom, but he found, at this moment, that the ministers were as suspicious of Bismarck as Bismarck was of them. Meantime the affairs in the Duchies helped the Prussians very considerably. Gablenz, the Austrian governor of Holstein, continued to favour the Augustenburg agitation by administering the province as if on behalf of that Prince, and allowing great slackness of government, the Press being uncensored and taxes unlevied. Bismarck had inaugurated a very different system of control in Schleswig, where the rule was the strictest possible, and it caused the meeting of 4,000

men at Altona to complain. The renewed agitation on behalf of the Augustenburg claim supplied Bismarck with an argument by which King William was convinced of Austria's infidelity. Remonstrances addressed to the Austrian court brought Germany to the brink of war. Only then was the strength of Bismarck's position fully apparent. So long as the suspense lasted, Prussia, in virtue of her convenient position, had the Duchies at her disposal. In the event of war, owing to the recent re-organisation, the Prussian army could be put into the field in a fortnight. Austria needed six weeks for her mobilization. Before she could present an ultimatum she must, by her secret preparations, give Bismarck warning and supply him with a pretext for precipitating the struggle.

Negotiations continued between Prussia, France, and Italy. The King of Prussia explained to Napoleon III. the situation with regard to his country and France. He told Napoleon that under no circumstances would a single acre of German territory be ceded to the French. He stated that he would not be adverse to seeing some slight "rectification of frontier," but that if he allowed such an undertaking Prussia would have to be rewarded and safeguarded by aggrandisement in North Germany. In Prussia's relations with Italy there was more of subterfuge. Bismarck nominally welcomed General Govone as one who was anxious to obtain information concerning new inventions, but in reality his true mission was the discussion of terms of alliance. The Austrian ministers were not deceived by the ruse, and the bitterness of feeling on their side was increased.

In the meantime the two countries were making careful preparations. By February 22nd, 1866, Austria had 100,000 men in Bohemia, but it was well understood that nothing could be done against Prussia without an army of double that number. It was, therefore, with secret, but steady, progress that the mobilization of the Austrian army proceeded. To cloak this undertaking the Emperor now declared that Prussia had deliberately broken the Treaty of Gastein, and on this account Austria appealed to the German courts. Bismarck did the same on March 24th, and not only denied any breach of the treaty, but charged Austria with the crime of inciting to war by mobilization. He pointed out that it was incumbent upon Prussia to arm as rapidly as possible

owing to the aggression of Austria. It is now well known that all this was a mere pretext, for Moltke himself had told Bismarck that up to that time Austria's action was purely defensive and that the Austrian mobilization could not be construed into an offensive action. Nevertheless, on March 26th the king consented to the partial mobilization of the Prussian army.

Bismarck could not afford to relax his pressure for an instant at home or abroad. The king was resolutely determined not to be the aggressor. Italy had yet to be secured as an ally in definite terms. This object, after prolonged negotiations, was secured by treaty on April 8th. If war broke out within three months Italy was to come to the help of Prussia; neither side was to conclude peace without the consent of the other; Prussia agreed not to desist until Venetia was handed over to the kingdom of Italy. On the same day Bismarck assured Austria that he had no intention of taking the offensive. Simultaneously he informed Benedetti,* the French ambassador, that he was determined on war. Then, on April 13th, Austria proposed simultaneous disarmament, and the whole fabric of Bismarck's policy seemed endangered. The King of Prussia approved, but Bismarck was able to insist that the agreement should include the south of Austria. This condition was refused and William, convinced of the righteousness of his cause, assented to rapid mobilization.

The immediate causes of the war are to be found first of all in the question of the government of Holstein, but this was by no means a main reason for Bismarck's decision to enter upon the terrible arbitrament. The real reason was the rivalry between the two powers for leadership, and this consolidated itself into the question of the organization of the German Confederation. Bismarck believed in the possibility of knitting Germany together under the headship of Prussia. From a domestic point of view he was convinced that the executive could not maintain its power except by a foreign policy which should gain the admiration of the Prussian people. On both accounts he had determined that Austria must be driven out of the German Confederation.

* Count Vincent Benedetti (1817–1900); born in Corsica; entered the Foreign Office 1855; ambassador at Turin 1861, and at Berlin 1864; retired to Ajaccio.

Accordingly, in March, when the Austrian minister, Mensdorf denounced Prussia's attitude and threatened Federal intervention, Bismarck had replied by a circular in which he outlined a radical reform of the Federal constitution.

The conditions of the Italian alliance made it essential that a war should be forced before the three months, to which it was limited, should have expired. The proposals for reforming the Constitution, coupled with the Italian negotiations, incited Austria to push forward the somewhat lengthy preparations which were necessary before her army could be in a position to strike at Prussian territory. Upon this Bismarck's policy hinged. He could force the issue whenever he chose, but Austria was compelled to give him warning. On April 26th an ultimatum was received from Austria demanding an immediate settlement of the Schleswig Holstein question, and this was followed by preparation for war in Prussia and Italy.

The breathing space which preceded the outbreak of hostilities was occupied by Napoleon's endeavours to unknit the alliance which he had been instrumental in procuring. A considerable body of French opinion, of which Thiers was the spokesman, criticised a policy which seemed designed to enhance the difficulties of France by creating a new and powerful state in central Europe. Too late Napoleon complied with their advice, reversed his efforts and attempted to detach Italy from the Prussian alliance. At his suggestion Austria consented to negotiate for Italian neutrality at the expense of Venetia, but the Italian ministers refused to break with their ally. Next he reappeared in a familiar part, as the convener of an European congress. Austria reluctantly consented with the qualification that none of the assembled Powers should receive additions of territory or power. The Diet at Frankfort objected to interference with the questions of the Duchies and of Federal reform on the ground that they were matters of domestic concern. The idea had to be discarded. Napoleon hastened to insure against the result which he anticipated from the approaching war—an Austrian victory. He received a guarantee that no attempt would be made to unite Germany under Austrian rule. Confident in his judgment Napoleon made no similar agreement with Prussia, but gave a promise of neutrality, which he modified by a public declaration, that France would be satisfied with

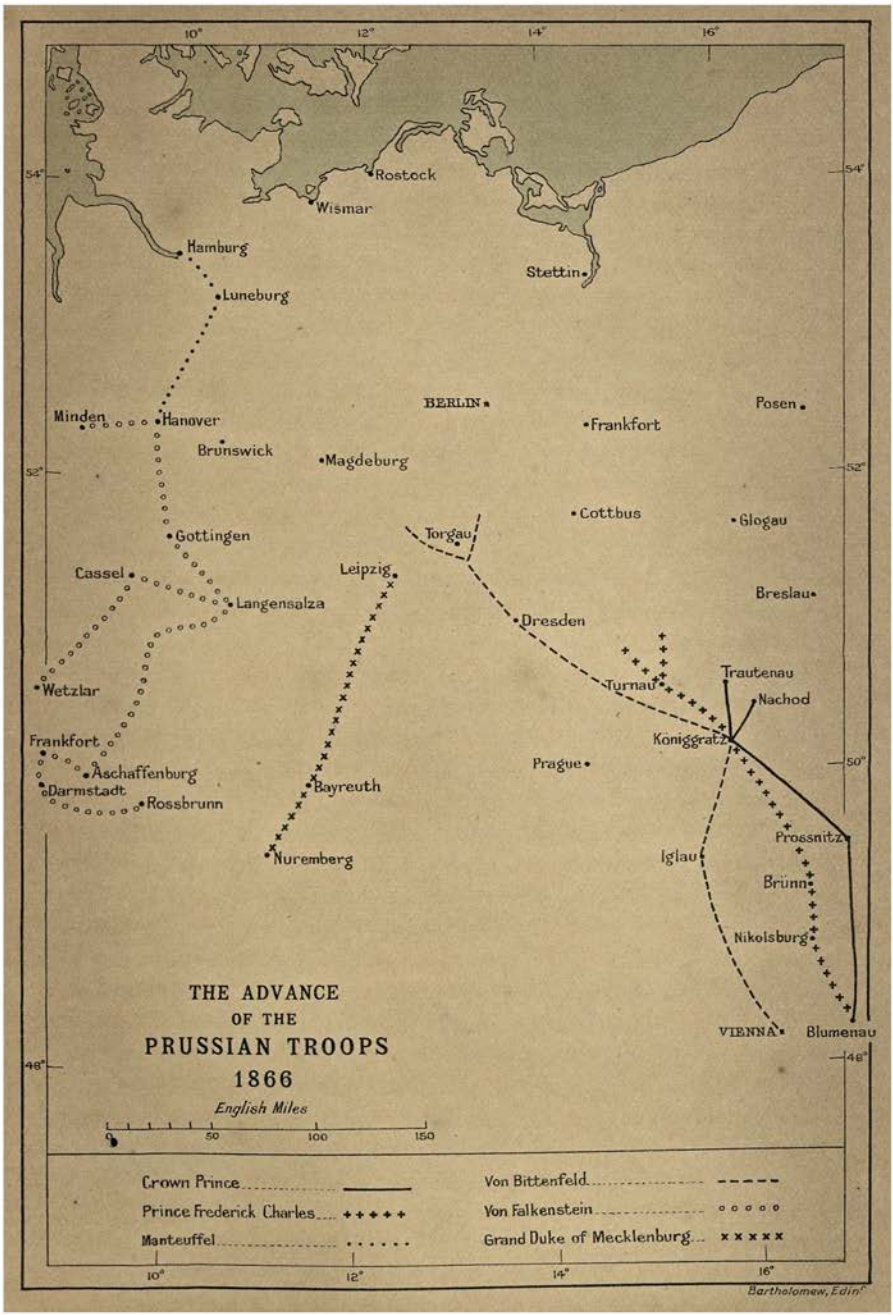
her present position so long as her neighbours remained in theirs.

On the first day of June Austria was forced, by the strain on her finances, to take the offensive. She proclaimed her intention of summoning representatives of Holstein to decide upon the future of the Duchy. Bismarck replied that by this violation of the Convention of Gastein the former status of joint occupation was restored; and Prussian troops entered Holstein. On June 11th Austria proposed that the Federal army should be mobilized to resist Prussia. On the previous day Bismarck had announced his scheme for Federal reform; Austria was to be excluded, and power was to be vested in a united Parliament elected by manhood suffrage. On June 14th the Diet considered the rival motions. By a majority of nine to six a Bavarian amendment to Austria's proposals was carried, and Prussia declared her intention of withdrawing from the Confederation.

The long drawn crisis was at an end. On June 18th Prussia declared war against Austria. Hanover and Hesse wished to be neutral, but they were informed by Bismarck that it was a case of real alliance or disarmament. In the struggle Prussia was practically alone, for, as King William said, "I have no ally but the Duke of Mecklenburg and Mazzini." The King was his own commander-in-chief, but he had as the chief of his staff that great "battle-thinker," General Moltke, who, whilst Austria was wasting valuable time in political intrigues, had arranged all the movements of the campaign. By June 30th news arrived of the capitulation of Hanover; while all Western Germany north of the Main, together with Schleswig and Holstein, were conquered almost without a blow. By that time the three main armies of Prussia were advancing. The first, consisting of 93,000 men under the "Red Prince," Frederick Charles, set out from Lusatia; the second, totalling 100,000 men, was under the leadership of the Crown Prince, who started his attack from Silesia; while the third fell to General Herwarth von Bittenfeld, who made his point of departure from Thuringia. It was their object to march by different routes, but to converge, and then fight the great battle as one combined force. The Austrians, reinforced by the army of the King of Saxony, were commanded

by Field-Marshal Benedek. Unfortunately for him, he had been compelled by the actions of his own Government to allow the Prussians to anticipate him in the seizure of Dresden. The invading force reached Bohemia on July 1st. The Austrians made a belated attempt to isolate the armies and crush Prince Frederick Charles before he could effect a junction. In a series of vanguard actions Benedek was repulsed, and the Austrians retreated on to the Elbe. On July 3rd the decisive battle of Königgrätz or Sadowa was fought. The total number of combatants in this stupendous conflict was not far short of 435,000; they were as great at Leipzig, and the results were almost as decisive as those of Waterloo. The Austrians, with their centre at Chlum, had gradually retired under the shelter of the guns of the strongly-fortified town of Königgrätz, with the Elbe in their rear. King William, Bismarck, von Roon, and Moltke watched this decisive battle of German history from the hill of Dub. Prince Frederick Charles attacked the Austrians, but their artillery at first proved too strong. The fate of the day seemed to be against the Prussians until the Crown Prince, who had been delayed like Blücher at Waterloo, brought up his force late in the afternoon. The victory at last lay with the Prussians, whose fighting qualities were now well proved; but the battle was won at enormous cost. Prussia lost 10,000, while twice that number of Austrians were killed, and 18,000 taken prisoners. King William, Moltke, "the silent one in seven languages," and Bismarck had together done in seven days what it had taken Frederick the Great seven years to accomplish. A century before Moltke, the greatest soldier of his day tried to humble the pride of Austria, and succeeded after a prolonged struggle. Once again Prussia had undertaken the same task, and in a short week proved her skill and power. It was thought at the time, and with some justification, that the Austrian empire would scarcely survive the shock of this great contest.

Immediately after Königgrätz the Emperor of Austria appealed to Napoleon III. for his mediation, and as a pledge of his good faith gave over to French keeping Venetia. Napoleon at once responded by opening a correspondence with King William, which showed to Bismarck very clearly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Grand Duke of Mecklenburg
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that the French would endeavour to prevent Prussia from obtaining the fruits of this conspicuous victory; and that, if by negotiation Napoleon failed to rescue Austria, he would have recourse to arms. The great German statesman therefore advised his sovereign to accept Napoleon's mediation, but to insist on the preliminaries of peace being settled before the cessation of hostilities. By this means he still kept Vienna as the goal for the triumphant Prussians. Bismarck had now learnt the depths of the Napoleonic duplicity, and Napoleon could never in the future expect to gain anything from Prussia. The attitudes of the other powers at this juncture are not without interest. Great Britain had taken up the policy of non-intervention in Continental affairs unless she was actually affected. Since the death of Lord Palmerston on October 18th, 1865, the old traditions had gradually disappeared, so that now Bismarck felt safe. But in Russia he saw a more dangerous intermediary. The Czar demanded both in Paris and London that a congress should be called to settle the affairs at stake. Bismarck was most anxious to avoid anything of the sort, and it was for this reason that he so readily acquiesced in the French mediation.

The French would not be allowed to have it all their own way. Bismarck knew exactly what terms of peace were wanted for Prussia. The two Duchies that had caused so much bickering and so many quarrels, Schleswig and Holstein, were to belong absolutely to Prussia. At the same time he wished to accomplish the reformation of the Confederation of Germany under the hegemony of Prussia. But in making that Confederation he really only cared about the strong union of North Germany. On July 9th he said, "I use the term North German Confederation . . . because I consider if the necessary consolidation of the federation is to be made certain it will at present be impossible to include South Germany in it." The day after this statement was made Benedetti came from Napoleon to Bismarck at Zwittau. He had, however, no instructions except to persuade the King of Prussia to be as moderate as possible in his demands. Bismarck could get nothing definite from the French ambassador, because the Emperor had not made up his mind. This was Bismarck's opportunity. From the moment at which Prussia's victory

was assured Austria ceased to be formidable. Her place was taken by France and Bismarck, by a swift settlement and reasonable terms, pacified the old rival before attacking the new. He let it be known at Vienna, by way of the Court of St. Petersburg, that he was most willing and anxious to negotiate direct with the Emperor of Austria. He also sent from Brünn, by means of an Austrian noble, a list of most lenient terms, for he knew the great advantage of making an agreement without any intermediary. He informed the Austrians in this round-about way that the King of Prussia would be perfectly willing to allow Austria to retain all her territory except that of Venetia, which must be ceded to Italy. To the surprise of every one concerned the Prussians magnanimously refused to demand a war indemnity. The Main was to be the Prussian boundary, and South Germany was to be left free. All these terms were only on the understanding that Austria gave up the idea of employing the mediation of Napoleon III. In making these proposals Bismarck saw that, if necessary, Austria and Prussia might unite in a strong alliance and show a firm front to all non-Germans ; or, if this failed, he knew that it was always possible for him to endanger Austria by stirring up revolt in Hungary and Italy, and renewing the days of 1848. As a matter of fact, neither plan was necessary, for Napoleon III. suddenly gave up his proposed intervention. He found that his health was breaking down and that he could not carry on the intricate schemes that he had started ; he found, too, that the Italians now refused to desert their ally, Prussia, and to receive Venetia as a gift from France, since it had been practically won for them by the victory at Königgrätz.

For these reasons Napoleon ordered Benedetti to proceed to Vienna, and he, with the Duc de Grammont,* persuaded the Emperor to come to terms. On July 23rd an armistice was agreed upon and a conference was held at Nikolsburg, where in two or three days Bismarck settled the whole future history of Germany. Bismarck, according to himself, was working almost alone in his schemes, and he says that his own sovereign, as head of the war party in Prussia, did not approve of such terms as left Austria undeprived of territory. Certainly the resistance of King William had to be overcome, but

* Duc de Grammont (1819–1880).

the military leaders appear to have been convinced that it was necessary to conciliate Austria. The Czar still continued to talk about a general congress; and Napoleon again tried to interfere on the ground that, if territory was given to Prussia, France must have some too. Foolishly, if he really hoped to obtain anything, he agreed, by the advice of Drouyn de Lhuys,* to wait till Prussia had arranged her treaty. It was the act of a deluded man, or, at least, that of a man who entirely failed to understand the elementary attributes of Bismarck's character. Immediately after the Treaty of Prague had been made on August 24th, Benedetti demanded on behalf of his master the left bank of the Rhine and Mainz. King William and Bismarck bluntly told him that it would mean war. For the moment the lesson of the needle-gun had been learnt, and Napoleon again found himself worsted in the diplomatic struggle with the German statesman.

The Czar continued to murmur about the annexation in North Germany, but he was quieted, possibly by Bismarck's threat to proclaim the Revolutionary Constitution of 1849, which the Czar dreaded as likely to cause another revolt in Poland. The chief work that was now left to complete the settlement of the difficulties of the last ten years was the Confederation of the German States. The four southern States had leagued in the war with Austria, and by a brilliant campaign they had been defeated; Frankfort had been occupied, and Manteuffel had demanded an indemnity of £1,000,000. They were naturally annoyed, and felt very bitterly towards Prussia until, as will be seen later, Bismarck let them into the secrets and intriguing schemes of their imaginary friend Napoleon. A Southern Confederation was not formed and Bismarck trusted to include the States of the South in the Northern Federation by individual compacts. As to the Northern States, they engaged themselves by treaty on August 18th to ally with Prussia; the troops of all were to be under the supreme command of King William; they mutually guaranteed each other's possessions; they were to enter into no new federation, and their North German Parliament was to be elected by universal suffrage. This agreement

* Edouard Drouyn de Lhuys (1805–1881); French ambassador in London 1849; three times Minister of Foreign Affairs.

was at first to last only one year, but Bismarck worked indefatigably, and by February 2nd, 1867, a new Constitution was prepared and agreed upon, and passed on April 16th.

The next event in this great struggle for political cohesion was reached in November, 1870, when treaties were drawn up uniting all the Southern States with the existing Northern Confederation. The union was finally completed in the following year, when King William assumed the title of German Emperor.

Towards that consummation the events of 1866 marked a notable advance. Austria had been excluded from the Germanic Confederation. Attempts at intervention on the part of France and Russia had been thwarted. Bismarck's pledge to Italy had been fulfilled, though she did not succeed in annexing southern Tyrol. At home Bismarck had achieved the object which had been constantly before him in his foreign policy. The King and the Prussian Parliament, both opposed, on different grounds, to his policy, had been convinced by success; in the Representative Chamber a part of the Left joined the Old Liberals in forming a National Liberal party. Upon these and upon the Conservatives Bismarck was able to count for a majority in support of the further projects of foreign policy which were already in his mind.

NOTES AND DIAGRAMS

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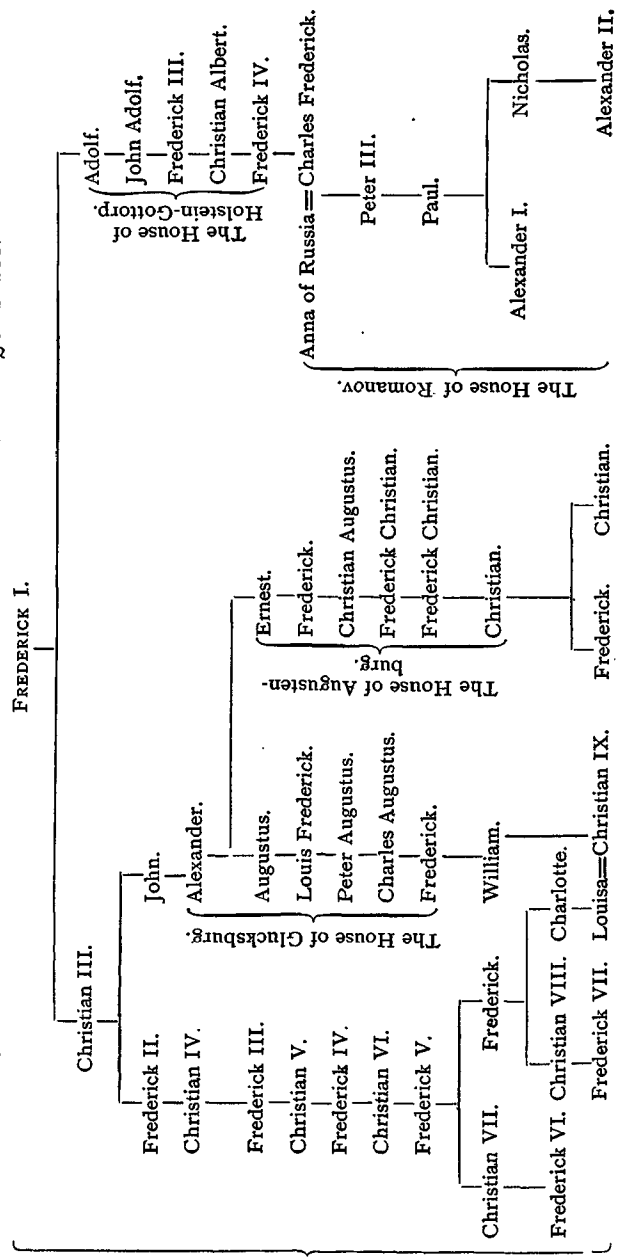
CONTEMPORARY EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

1861. Death of Prince Consort.
1862. The cotton famine in Lancashire.
1863. The Prince of Wales married Princess Alexandra of Denmark.
1865. Mr. Gladstone defeated in the election for the University of Oxford.
Death of Lord Palmerston.
Lord John Russell became Prime Minister.
1866. Commercial panic in London.
Habeas Corpus Act was suspended in Ireland.
1867. Lord John Russell resigned, and was succeeded by Lord Derby.
The Reform Bill was passed.
Fenian outrages.
The formation of the Dominion of Canada.
1868. Lord Derby resigned, and was succeeded by Mr. Disraeli.
The expedition to Abyssinia.
The Irish and Scottish Reform Bills passed.
1869. Mr. Disraeli resigned, and was succeeded by Mr. Gladstone.
1870. The Irish Land Act passed.
Mr. Forster's Elementary Education Act.
Lord Granville succeeded Lord Clarendon as Foreign Secretary.
The neutrality of Belgium preserved by treaty.
1871. The University Test Act abolished.
Abolition of the purchase system in the army.
Power over the militia, yeomanry, and volunteers was vested in the Crown.
1872. The Ballot Act was passed, but limited to eight years.

PEDIGREE TO ILLUSTRATE THE SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN QUESTION



CHAPTER XV

THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR AND AFTER

1867–1889

CONTEMPORARY RULERS OF THE MOST IMPORTANT NATIONS, 1833–1901

Date.	*Great Britain.*	*Austria.*	*France.*	*Spain.*	*Germany.*	*Russia.*	*Portugal.*	*The Papacy.*	*Italy.*
1833.	...	...	...	Isabella.					
1837.	Victoria.								
1846.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Pius IX.	
1848.	...	Francis Joseph.							
1849.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Victor Emanuel II.
1852.	...	...	Napoleon III.						
1855.	...	...	...	...	...	Alexander II.			
1861.	...	...	...	...	William I.	...	Luis I.		
1868.	...	...	...	Republic.					
1870.	...	...	Republic.	Amadeo I.					
1871.	...	...	Thiers.						
1873.	...	...	Macmahon.	Republic.					
1874.	...	...	...	Alfonso XII.					
1878.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Leo XIII.	Humbert I.
1879.	...	...	Grévy.						
1881.	...	...	...	...	...	Alexander III.			
1885.	...	...	..	Maria.					
1886.	...	...	..	Alfonso XIII.					
1887.	...	...	Carnot.						
1888.	...	...	...	...	Frederick III. / William II.				
1889.	...	...	...	...	...	...	Carlos I.		
1894.	...	...	Casimir Périer.	...	...	Nicholas II.			
1895.	...	...	Faure.						
1899.	...	...	Loubet.						
1900.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Victor Emanuel III.
1901.	Edward VII.								

BY his abilities or his good fortune Napoleon III. had contrived to win for himself and for the French people a position in European diplomacy which must have been inconceivable when the French empire disappeared in the wreck of his uncle's fortunes half a century earlier. His successes

were, it is true, greatly inferior in magnitude to those of Napoleon I. But they had in common a grandness of conception. They might plausibly be represented as a development of the theories which had appeared, somewhat paradoxically, in the first Napoleon's programme during the "Hundred Days." In Italy he had been the patron of nationality, and, so long as diplomatic secrets remained unrevealed, he could lay claim to the same character in his relations with Germany. Less disputably he could point to successes which had transformed France from a second-rate Power into one whose ambitions must be reckoned with by every sovereign in Europe. The Emperors of Russia and Austria had suffered humiliations at his hands. Italy was under obligations to him, and Bismarck, in laying his plans in 1865, had taken care to consult the oracle at Biarritz.

It had been a watchword of Napoleon I. that the French people cared little for liberty and much for honour. Napoleon III. might well believe it, for he had reaped the reward of his foreign policy at home. Constitutional liberties had been suppressed but the nation, if not content, had seemed to acquiesce. But latterly, as he himself confessed, "black shadows" had appeared. His diplomacy had met with disaster when confronted by the coolness and assurance of Bismarck. Crippled by the Mexican adventure, he had not felt himself in a position to sustain his demands by the forcible arguments on which their cogency depended. In March, 1867, the French troops were withdrawn from Mexico, and in the last days of June the news of Maximilian's death brought the adventure to a tragic conclusion. The extreme Imperialists and Catholics, with the powerful assistance of the Empress Eugenie, urged upon him an aggressive foreign policy and involved him in a breach with his old allies in Italy. At the beginning of 1867 Garibaldi had put himself at the head of another crusade and invaded the Papal States. French troops were dispatched to re-occupy Rome, and Garibaldi's force was routed at Mentana on November 3rd. The incident was inopportune. For the future of French diplomacy, whether peaceful or bellicose, seemed to depend upon co-operation with the Austrian and Italian Governments in the face of the new and formidable union of the North German States.

Bismarck was fully aware of the situation. From the moment that Napoleon began to interfere in the questions between Prussia and Austria, the German minister knew that war between Prussia and France would be the natural outcome. It was because of this danger, that could not be postponed for over-long, that Bismarck worked with all his energy to accomplish not only the consolidation of the North German Confederation, but also, if possible, to draw closer the civil and military relations of the North and South German States; and he had also to procure the neutrality of the European Powers. The difficulties which this great diplomatist had to overcome were numerous, but not insurmountable. His popularity was not excessive, but at the same time he was not without powerful supporters, and he succeeded in getting rid of the Constitutional conflict with his political enemies, the Progressive Opposition. He foresaw that he might have trouble with the Poles and Danes in the Prussian Parliament; but, on the other hand, he knew that he could safely ignore the feeble protests of the dispossessed princes of the north, and that the Guelph armaments in Belgium and Switzerland were not powerful. But, above all, since the late war Austria had been completely ousted from the Confederation, so that there was no danger from that quarter. The most obvious peril lay in the fact that the South German States formed, after all, only a paper union. It was very clear that they were not inspired by any particular affection for Prussia, and it might be feared that in the moment of supreme danger they would throw in their lot with Prussian foes. Napoleon had, however, as already hinted, played into Bismarck's hands. In August, 1866, he fell back upon the expedient that the mistaken French diplomacy had given him, and he published Napoleon's demand, or, as he called it, "hotelkeeper's bill," for compensations on the left bank of the Rhine. The effect upon the wavering allegiance of the South German States was instantaneous. Würtemberg, on August 3rd, Baden, on the 17th, and Bavaria, on the 22nd, entered into the "August Conventions," by which, in time of war, the King of Prussia was to command the armies of the three States. A more lasting tie than these conventions was found in the following summer. The zollverein was in urgent need of reform. Chief

among its defects was the impossibility of making any alteration without unanimous agreement. The South German members consented to a fresh arrangement. By it they sent delegates for fiscal purposes to the North German Bundesrath and Reichstag, which, for the occasion, were resolved into a Federal Tariff Council and Customs Union, in which resolutions were decided by a majority of votes. Thus an economic pressure drew the South into closer union.

Napoleon meanwhile was beset with difficulties at home and abroad. The growth of republican opinion and the dangers which were threatened by the spread of revolutionary and socialistic doctrine among the working classes at last extorted the long delayed reforms. Restrictions upon the Press and upon public meetings were relaxed in January, 1868, and the evolution from personal government to the Liberal Empire began. The official view of the war of 1866 represented it as another French success. At the same time, since Bismarck had taken such drastic measures to expose Napoleon's designs on the left bank of the Rhine, the "bill" was presented in another shape. When in August of 1866 he had asked Bismarck to help him he had also proposed the conquest of Belgium and the cession of Luxemburg. At that moment the German minister had given him no definite reply, so that the Emperor continued to demand in the spring of 1867 the cession of Luxemburg. This territory was of some importance. It had long been regarded as the entrance to Lower Germany, and had, by the Treaty of Vienna, been included in the German Confederation, and the right of guarding it had been allotted to Prussia. On the other hand, it was an appanage of the Crown of Holland. The King of Holland, however, was not unwilling to cede it to France, since it was practically in the hands of Prussia owing to the presence of Prussian guards. In Germany itself the proposal of its cession was met with a storm of indignation, for though not actually within the North German Confederation, yet it was regarded as tied by circumstances and history to the fatherland.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the experts of the General Staff of the Prussian army shrieked aloud for war; but the cool and calculating Bismarck still held his hand, for he had not quite completed the schemes that he had

evolved, and he still wished to bring about a perfect military organization in the provinces before the decisive blow was struck. The Luxemburg question was not to be the actual cause of war, and, after a conference on the subject on May 7th, 1867, the Treaty of London was issued four days later, by which Luxemburg was to be neutral territory under the guardianship of the Powers ; the Prussian garrisons were withdrawn ; the King of Holland was to retain the sovereignty on a promise that he would at once demolish the fortifications.

By this means it might be thought that the immediate danger of war between the two great Powers had been averted ; but the duel was inevitable, and the settlement of the Luxemburg question merely postponed the struggle which was bound to come in a few short years. The position of France was, on the surface at any rate, remarkably strong. It was believed that most of Europe would support Napoleon III. should a struggle between France and Germany actually take place. Beust,* the Imperial Chancellor, was regarded as a Francophile, while Italy was bound to the Emperor of the French by ties of gratitude, if such ties in politics are really worthy of consideration. In the north, too, France was not without political allies, for the Scandinavian Powers did not regard Prussia in any friendly spirit after the conduct of Bismarck in the Schleswig-Holstein question. Even in Southern Germany there was some cause for congratulation. In Bavaria the Court and the professional classes dreaded Prussian influence, and, at the outbreak of hostilities in 1870, the war credits were passed with the utmost difficulty. In the near East the wisdom of Bismarck's attitude towards Russia during the Polish rising was now conclusively proved. The European Powers, Prussia excepted, had remonstrated with the Czar for the barbarities perpetrated in Poland, where General Mouravieff earned the abhorrence of mankind by his ferocious tyranny. Prussia alone exhibited no regret for the suppression of the insurrection which led to the butchery, imprisonment, and exile of men and women, with no regard for either law or humanity. Bismarck had foreseen that Russia would look with jealous and

* Frederick Ferdinand, Count von Beust (1809–1886); Imperial Chancellor 1867–1871 ; ambassador in London 1871–1878 ; ambassador in Paris 1878–1882.

anxious eyes upon the diplomacy of Beust, and the Czar feared, and not without reason, that if a definite alliance was concluded between France and Austria, Galicia might become the centre of a new Polish movement. Russia was ready, therefore, to meet the friendly advances of the astute German minister. Bismarck promised that Prussia would support Russia in denouncing the Black Sea clauses of the Treaty of Paris of 1856; and that he would give active assistance to the Czar in the event of Austria taking up arms.

On both sides of the Rhine the possibility of war was contemplated, and, in different ways, the ground was prepared. In 1867 Napoleon III. had met Francis Joseph at Salzburg. It is clear that no compact was struck, but views were exchanged. During 1869 Napoleon resumed negotiations with a view of linking France, Austria, and Italy in a triple alliance. It is significant that at this time Bismarck dispatched Bernhardi to Spain, and there is reason to believe that Prussian bonds travelled to the same destination at the same time. Early in 1870 the Archduke Albrecht paid a visit to Paris. Simultaneously the question of the Hohenzollern candidature (described below) was discussed at a consultation in Berlin. The Plébiscite of May was a confirmation of the French Emperor's policy. On the 15th the Duc de Grammont became Minister for Foreign Affairs, and later in the month Lebrun was dispatched to Vienna. Here he discussed a plan of campaign with the Austrian military authorities, and on June 14th was admitted to an audience of the Emperor. The result, which he reported to Napoleon on his return, was that Francis Joseph had said that he would be compelled by public opinion to join France if the cause of war concerned the freedom of Southern Germany. The Austrian generals promised their co-operation within three weeks of the French taking the field. Simultaneously Leopold of Hohenzollern was induced to reconsider his decision, and, on July 2nd, consented to become a candidate for the throne of Spain.

Such a chronological summary suggests that Napoleon, at the instigation of the Empress and the Imperial party, had at length decided upon war, and that Bismarck, always well supplied with information, was determined to force an issue on which France would not have the support of her ally.

The cause of the rupture was an international "incident" manufactured by the diplomatists, the Press, and heated popular rumours in both countries. For years the people of Spain had been torn by the internecine struggle of the Carlist wars, and misgovernment reigned supreme. At the head of affairs was the Queen Isabella, who was entirely influenced by her confessor, Dom Claret, her paramour, Marfori, and by the clever but injurious influence of a nun, Petrocuno. Affairs of State depended upon the *camarilla;* whilst the generals of the army were banished not individually but in batches. By September, 1868, Spain could endure no longer. General Prim * raised revolt at Cadiz on the 17th, and Isabella fled to France on the 30th. A provisional government was immediately established, with Serrano as president and Prim head of the War Office; while the electors were called upon to settle the government. The Constituent Cortes finally decided on May 21st, 1869, in favour of a Constitutional monarchy: a decision which was easy enough; but the difficult question arose as to whom they were to elect as Constitutional monarch.

There were four candidates. Carlos VII. claimed his rights from Pau, but was regarded as quite impossible. An obvious candidate (see pedigree, p. 41) was the Duc de Montpensier, but to elect him would, as Prim well knew, offend the august Emperor of France. The King of Italy was applied to, but he resolutely refused to accept on behalf of his second son. General Prim therefore proposed Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, brother of the Prince of Roumania, and thus unwittingly started the fire that was to blaze round the French empire. Prince Leopold was related through the families of Murat and Beauharnais to Napoleon himself; and, though a subject of the King of Prussia, he was not related closely to the royal family. Besides this, he was a Catholic, and would therefore be most acceptable to the Spanish people. At first the prince refused, but finally agreed on condition that the head of his house, King William of Prussia, gave his entire consent.

The news was equally a shock to the pride of the French

* Juan Prim (1814–1870); opposed Espartero; fled to England 1866; secured the election of Amadeus 1870; assassinated.

people and to the diplomacy of the French Court. The inconvenience of having a representative of Prussian interests behind the Pyrenees, the disparagement of French influence, which had been exerted in favour of another candidate, the personal resentment of the Bonapartes at the honour done to a house with whom they had a private quarrel, overcame considerations of policy. On July 4th the Duc de Grammont declared that "France would not tolerate the establishment of a Hohenzollern or any other Prussian prince on the throne of Spain." Bismarck pointed out that the question had nothing to do with Prussia as a nation, but was a purely private affair for the King as head of the House of Hohenzollern. This only increased the intense suspense of the French people, who waited impatiently to hear what the Prussian King would say to their minister, Benedetti. He said much the same as Bismarck had already said. At the same time Lord Granville suggested, both to Bismarck and to Prim, that the withdrawal of Leopold's candidature was an obvious way of preserving the peace. On July 12th, after ten days of intense excitement, Leopold withdrew his candidature. Ollivier * proclaimed that France had gained a brilliant and bloodless victory. But there seemed room for doubt as to the terms of the withdrawal, and the Imperialists thirsted for further triumphs. When it appeared that the Prussian Government refused all responsibility and took the view that the Prince had acted on his own initiative, the Duc de Grammont proposed that the Prussian King should signify his assent and give some guarantee for the future. Benedetti, the French ambassador, was entrusted with the mission. The King expressed his approval of the action of Prince Hohenzollern but would give no promise, and the request for another interview was refused. The news was sent to Bismarck in a long telegram, which he forwarded in an abbreviated form to the Prussian envoys at different courts. Germany was convulsed with amusement at the rebuke to the French ambassador, and France was roused to a passion of resentment which decided the Cabinet in favour of war. It has been supposed that Bismarck's modified version of the telegram was the deciding factor. It was not, in fact, materially

* Olivier Emile Ollivier, born 1825; formed a constitutional ministry in 1870; a great writer.

different or more humiliating than the original. His conversation, on the same day, with the British ambassador, in which he compared the French to robbers revealed by a flash of lightning, shows that he was resolute for war. But the French ministers must bear a part of the blame. M. Ollivier, in words which have become historic, said that he accepted the challenge of Prussia "with a light heart." Napoleon, urged by his wife, yielded to the demands of the nation. He probably realized that the die was cast and on this war depended the fate of himself, his Empress, and the future welfare of the Prince Imperial. The Government took immediate steps to "safeguard the interests and honour of France." All ideas of arbitration were swept on one side. The declaration of war reached Berlin on July 19th.

The French were entirely unprepared, as after events proved; while Prussia was absolutely ready down to the minutest detail. The Emperor announced his intention of commanding in person, with Marshal Lebœuf * as virtual chief of the army. Macmahon was summoned from his government in Algeria, and Marshal Bazaine, together with Generals Frossard, Douay, and de Failly, were given the task of extending the line from Strasburg to Metz and Thionville. The actual plan of campaign consisted of three points. In the first place the main army was to be concentrated on the upper Rhine; there was to be an invasion of South Germany; a couple of tremendous victories were to be gained to win over Austria, the South German States, and the wavering Italians. According to Lebœuf's calculations there should have been 150,000 men in Lorraine and 100,000 in Alsace within nine days of mobilization. It was in this particular that the French suffered the first check to their hopes. By the end of July there were not more than 35,000 men in Alsace, and 130,000 men in Lorraine together with a corps in reserve at Chalons. The French system was found wanting in those very points in which their opponents were at that moment giving Europe an object lesson; the details of the mobilization had not been worked out with sufficient care. Reservists rejoining the colours wasted precious days in crossing the country to get their equipment from a regimental depôt to which they had been allotted, irrespective of the situation

* Edmond Lebœuf (1809–1888); fought in Algeria, the Crimea, and Italy.

of their homes. The transport, both of troops and of stores, was speedily disorganized. Nor was there, in the rank and file of the officers, the initiative necessary to improvise a system in place of the defective organization of headquarters. The highly centralized General Staff, by usurping the functions of its subordinates, had killed the independence of the regimental officer. At the same time it was obstructed in the discharge of its proper duties, so that the German staff is said to have had more accurate information than the French as to the geography and railway system of France. It became apparent that any offensive movement must be deferred.

Simultaneously French hopes of foreign alliance were dissolved. Bismarck had held his hand till the right moment. He now published the draft of Benedetti's treaty for seizing Luxemburg, which not only caused the alarm of all the smaller States, but forced England to demand a guarantee for the neutrality of Belgium. To the surprise and indignation of France, the Austrian *entente cordiale* was repudiated by Count Beust, who not only declared France to be entirely in the wrong, but on July 20th notified the absolute neutrality of Austria in the war. The Austrian action was followed in the next week by a similar declaration of neutrality by Russia on July 23rd, Denmark on July 25th, and Italy on the same day. The long-cherished hopes of a strong coalition against Prussia thus crumbled to the ground.

Unlike the French campaign, which was purely hypothetical, the Prussians had their schemes all cut and dried. Von Moltke had arranged that 300,000 men should immediately mass on the middle Rhine, and so perfect was the organization that within eighteen days of the declaration of war the German army was in its place with everything required. The first army was under the leadership of Steinmetz,* who, with 85,000 men, occupied a position from the Saar to Saarlouis. The second army spread from the latter town to Saargemünd, and was commanded by Prince Frederick Charles ; whilst the third army of no less than 200,000 men lay between Landau and Carlsruhe. It was under the command of the Crown Prince, and consisted mainly of the

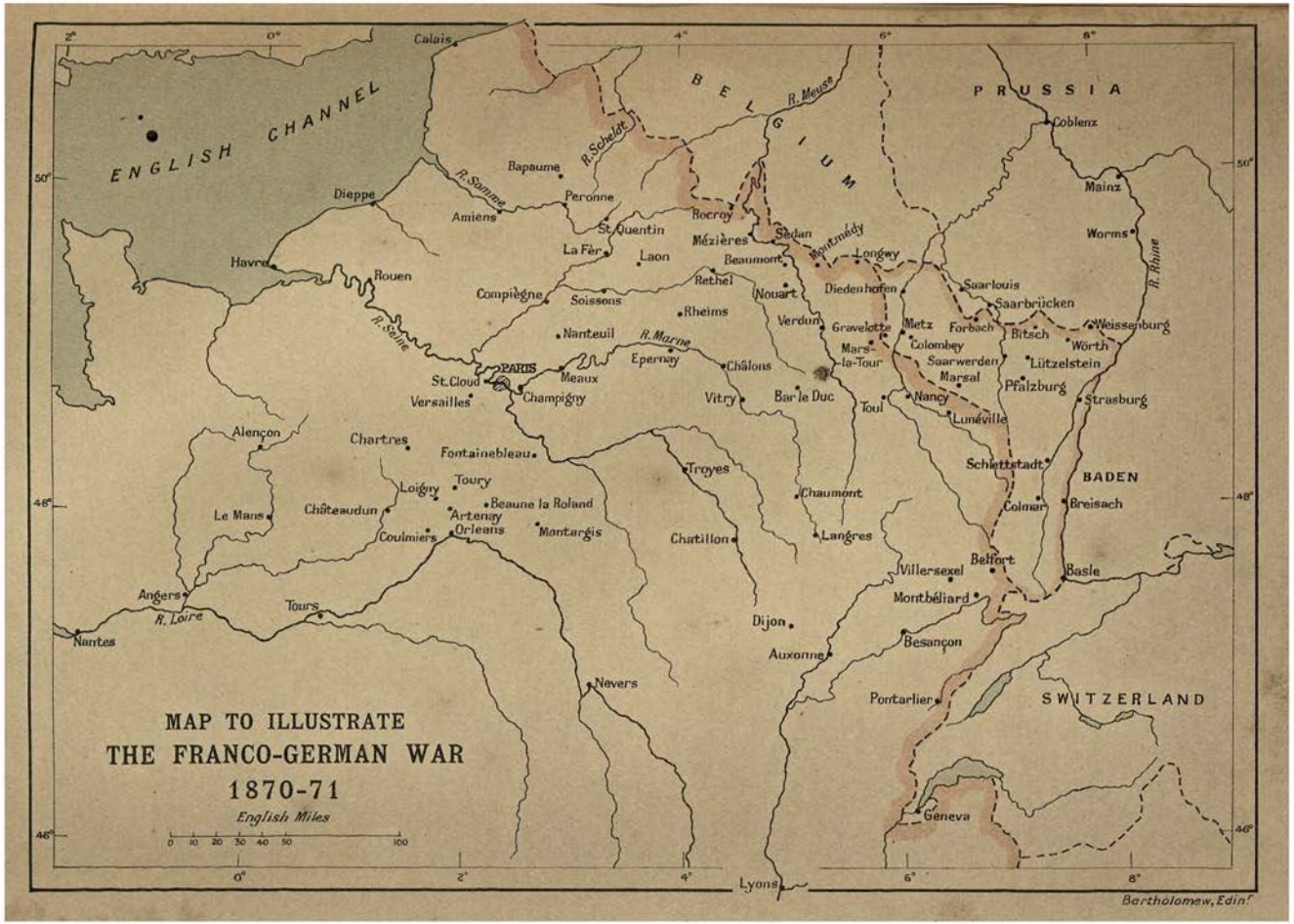
* Carl Friederich Steinmetz (1790–1877) ; fought in the campaign of 1813–1814 ; after Gravelotte appointed Governor General of Posen and Silesia.

South German troops. Its function was to link the first and second armies and so to enable a superior force to be concentrated on either of the enemies' forces, which were separated by the Vosges mountains.

The war opened on August 2nd, after King William had arrived at Mainz, and the French under Frossard made a reconnaissance towards Saarbrucken. The small German force at this point very naturally fell back, which was magnified by the French into a "glorious victory." It was here that the Prince Imperial had his "baptism of fire." Napoleon I., in the midst of some glorious campaign, might have indulged in such a flourish; but coming from Napoleon III. it only caused the Parisians to ridicule such an ostentatious exposure of the young prince to such unnecessary peril. It was the first and last victory during this war gained by the French empire. The first really serious engagement took place three days later at Weissemberg, where the Crown Prince with a contingent of Bavarians and South Germans defeated decisively General Abel Douay with a force belonging to the left wing of Macmahon's army.

On August 5th the first and second armies advanced, and, having crossed the Saar, carried on the next day the heights of Spicheren, which were commanded by General Frossard. At the same time the Crown Prince again was victorious by defeating Macmahon and his 45,000 men at the bloody battle of Wörth. The Prussians lost more heavily than their opponents, but the French army evacuated Alsace and retreated in disorder through the Vosges mountains to concentrate at Chalons.

The political results of such a week of victories were of course fraught with the utmost importance. There was now no possibility of Austria and Italy joining France, and the neutrality of these two nations was strengthened by the formation of the League of Neutrals, owing to the intervention of Lord Granville. It was agreed that no Power within the League was to join either of the combatants without giving proper notice to the other members. But it was not only in external affairs that this cycle of victories played its part, for it had equal force in the internal affairs of France, where great changes were effected. Napoleon himself was virtually deposed in favour of his Empress; the ministry of Ollivier


ENGLISH CHANNEL
BELGIUM
PRUSSIA
SWITZERLAND
BADEN
R. Meuse
R. Scheldt
R. Somme
R. Seine
R. Marne
R. Loire
R. Rhine
Calais
Dieppe
Bapaume
Peronne
Amiens
Rocroy
St. Quentin
Mézières
Sedan
Montmédy
Longwy
La Fère
Laon
Beaumont
Havre
Rouen
Rethel
Nouart
Diedenhofen
Compiègne
Soissons
Rheims
Verdun
Gravelotte
Metz
Nanteuil
Mars-la-Tour
Colombey
Forbach
Bitsch
Wörth
Saarlouis
Saarbrücken
Weissenburg
Saarwerden
Lützelstein
Marsal
Pfalzburg
Strasburg
Nancy
Lunéville
Toul
Vitry
Bar le Duc
Châlons
Epernay
PARIS
St. Cloud
Meaux
Versailles
Champigny
Alençon
Chartres
Fontainebleau
Troyes
Loigny
Toury
Beaune la Roland
Artenay
Orleans
Montargis
Coulmiers
Châteaudun
Le Mans
Chaumont
Langres
Chatillon
Schlettstadt
Colmar
Breisach
Belfort
Basle
Villersexel
Montbéliard
Angers
Tours
Nantes
Dijon
Auxonne
Besançon
Nevers
Pontarlier
Geneva
Lyons
Coblenz
Mainz
Worms
MAP TO ILLUSTRATE
THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR
1870-71
English Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 100
Bartholomew, Edin.

gave way to that of the Comte de Palikao; and Lebœuf was replaced by Marshal Bazaine.*

With these changes the fury and consternation of France were for a moment allayed; and visions of success reappeared. There was still a large army unbroken at Chalons, and the commander-in-chief, Bazaine, had 170,000 men at Metz. In Marshal Macmahon they had a man they could trust. An attempt was to be made to join forces at Verdun. The Germans were well aware of it, and strained every nerve to prevent the coalition. With this object in mind, the Crown Prince, on August 11th, crossed the Vosges, while the other two armies were moving along the Moselle in a half circle towards Metz. The French retreated towards Verdun, but on the 14th were checked by the fierce onslaught of Von der Goltz at Colombières. The importance of this battle was almost immediately eclipsed by the terrible slaughter that took place on August 16th and 17th at Vionville, Mars-la-Tour, and Gravelotte. Bazaine was successively cut off from retreat on the line of Verdun and driven inside the lines of Metz by an action in which the Germans were massed between him and Paris.

Macmahon, who had now a force of 150,000 men concentrated in Rheims, made a desperate effort to slip round the right wing of the Prussian first army and join Bazaine. He gained several days before Moltke received information of the manœuvre. Then the army of the Meuse moved rapidly northward to intercept him and was closely followed by the third army. Macmahon was unable to cross the Meuse and would have retreated to assist in the defence of Paris but for express orders from Palikao. On August 31st, the French army was hemmed in by the Germans inside a triangle whose base was the Meuse. Macmahon did not realise his danger; the increased range, accuracy and rapidity of gun-fire made it possible to overwhelm an enemy from a distance without engaging him with massed battalions. On September 1st the end came. The French were overwhelmed by gun-fire from the heights, and enveloped on all sides by German

* François Achille Bazaine (1811–1888); entered the army in the ranks 1831; fought in Algeria, the Crimea, and Italy; served in the French expedition to Mexico 1862; court-martialled 1873; sentenced to death, but commuted for twenty years' imprisonment; escaped in 1874.

corps. The Emperor surrendered and 81,000 of his subjects laid down their arms.

Sedan was the end of the empire, but not of the war. The quarrel which had originated amongst princes had now been transferred to the nation. It was no longer a struggle of Courts and Cabinets ; it became a national struggle of the French people. The empire ceased to exist at dead of night on September 2nd, when Jules Favre * proposed Napoleon's deposition. Thiers, as a supporter of the Orleanists, advocated the formation of a provisional Government by the Chambers. But Paris had once again burst into revolution, and, as before, settled the destinies of the nation. The mob rushed into the Chamber, and Favre and Gambetta,† at the head of the Parisian deputies, proclaimed a Republic. Thiers was obliged to recognize this Government at the moment, but could not accept the principles upon which it was based. The unhappy Empress fled to England, where she has since resided ; and Napoleon remained for a time in German hands. The new Government immediately set about the best means for national defence. General Trochu,‡ although an anti-Republican, was placed at its head, with Favre as Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Gambetta as Minister of the Interior. The latter had come before the public eye some two or three years before as a young advocate in a political trial, during the course of which he had violently attacked the Emperor.

Favre maintained that the King of Prussia was merely fighting Napoleon, and that, having conquered, he ought to make peace. But Prussia, as represented by King William and Bismarck, was not only fighting against Napoleon, but equally against the army of France. It was decided without hesitation that the war should be prosecuted, and the Crown Prince lost no time after Sedan, but pushed on rapidly to Paris. On September 19th the investment was completed.

* Jules Claude Gabriel Favre (1809–1880); defended Orsini the assassin in 1858; a leader of the Republicans against Napoleon; Minister of Foreign Affairs 1870; wrote *Mélanges Politiques et Littéraires.*

† Léon Michel Gambetta (1838–1882); elected deputy 1869; Minister of the Interior 1870; retired to Spain 1871; helped to suppress the Commune; averted civil war in 1877; President of the Chamber 1878; again formed a cabinet in 1880.

‡ Louis Jules Trochu (1815–1896); fought in Algeria, the Crimea, and Italy; wrote *L'armée Française en* 1867; received command 1870; Governor of Paris; resigned January 1871 ; member of the National Assembly.

Jules Favre had two fruitless interviews with Bismarck; the Provisional Government was pledged to resist all territorial concessions, and Bismarck turned aside to negotiate with the Empress Eugenie. The siege of Paris began. Three months before every one in France had imagined that if any capital were besieged in 1870 it would be Berlin. It is remarkable that even now the French did not lose all hope of bringing the struggle to a successful conclusion. They imagined the previous failures were largely due to the corrupt government of the empire, and they hoped that under the new *régime* the complexion of affairs would be radically changed. They knew that 400,000 Germans were kept inactive round Metz, and that they would have to remain there as long as Bazaine held out. If Paris was really to be taken they calculated that double the number of men brought by the Crown Prince would be required. They rejoiced in the fact that the difficulty of food supplies for the Prussian army seemed almost insurmountable. As long as the Prussians were assailed by these difficulties the optimistic nature of the French taught them to look forward to the formation of a new army, created in the south, which would drive the half-starved invaders out of the country.

Against these advantages they had to weigh two great disadvantages: the lack of capable leaders and the innumerable factions within the country. The Cabinet which was to govern France and direct the nation to victory was shut up in Paris. Monsieur Crémieux, an honest lawyer but an inexperienced statesman, slipped out with three others to form a Cabinet at Tours. But Lyons, Marseilles, and Toulouse, instead of sticking nobly to the national cause, raised the red flag of the Commune. On October 7th Gambetta escaped from Paris by balloon to rally the country to the great emergency. He formulated a scheme for dividing France into four parts, with central points at Lille, Le Mans, Bourges, and Besançon, where a separate army was to be raised with a separate general at its head. Count Keraty raised a force in Brittany; General Bourbaki did the same in the north; and Garibaldi joined General Cambriels in the Vosges. These forces when combined were to effect the relief of the beleaguered capital.

In the meantime Strasburg had surrendered on September 16th, and General Werder * and a Prussian force having thus been liberated, marched to assist von der Tann,† who was, at the command of Moltke, investing the city of Orleans. He was fairly successful ; but his great object was to cross the Loire and destroy the arsenals at Bourges ; and this he was unable to do.

The position of the Government in Paris was greatly endangered by the news of October 27th. Bazaine had surrendered. The great army of Metz was in the hands of the Germans, and another army was freed for the siege of Paris and the reduction of the provinces.

While the Provisional Government was with difficulty making headway against the Communist followers of Blanqui, Gambetta was organizing the resistance of the French nation in the provinces. A *levée en masse* was called, and General Aurelle des Paladines,‡ a veteran of the Crimea, was ordered to advance against von der Tann. The move seemed excellent, for on November 9th des Paladines attacked the Prussians at Coulmiers and drove them out of Orleans, but unfortunately for France, was unable to follow this up, owing to the arrival of the Duke of Mecklenburg with considerable reinforcements. Had he been able to take more active steps the Prussian force besieging Paris might have been endangered. This was recognized by Prince Frederick Charles, who thrust himself between Orleans and the capital. Gambetta's impulsive nature caused him to order des Paladines to take action and to advance upon Paris. For this purpose an arrangement was made with General Trochu that a simultaneous assault should be attempted from the north and south. The attack took place, but ended in disaster ; on November 27th des Paladines assaulted the German left at Beaune-la-Rolande, and the Pontifical Zouaves under General Charette made gallant efforts to win a way to Paris. Brie and Villiers were taken, but on November 28th and December 2nd the French army was cut to pieces in a bloody engagement immediately north

* August von Werder, born 1808.

† Ludwig, Baron von der Tann, born 1805.

‡ Louis Jean Baptiste d'Aurelle des Paladines (1804–1877) ; fought in Algeria and the Crimea.

of Orleans. By December 5th the work of des Paladines was undone, and Orleans once more fell into Prussian hands.

The story of the French downfall is one long series of disasters. The French army in Paris was not idle; they did what they could, but the hand of fate was turned against them, and one small success was almost immediately followed by a crushing defeat. Thus General Ducrot * on November 29th carried the heights of Champigny, but five days later he was driven back into the capital, and on the last day of the year Mont Avron was taken by the besieging army. In the north-east the same disastrous story was being enacted. Manteuffel was victorious wherever he went. Amiens gave way on November 27th; Rouen was occupied on December 6th, while Dieppe was reached four days later. Thus the year 1870 closed with a vast Prussian force occupying the greater part of northern France, and Paris was in the throes of starvation, with an invincible army waiting at her gates.

Events now moved with even dizzier rapidity. The relief of Paris was attempted by General Faidherbe,† commanding the North-Western Departments, on January 3rd, but it was checked by the indecisive battle of Bapaume. A second attempt a fortnight later was no more successful, and the French were utterly defeated by General Göben at St. Quentin. The collapse of France was now complete. In the north it had already been effected, but in the next few weeks it was clearly evidenced in the south. On January 12th General Chanzy,‡ after having been driven by Prince Frederick Charles from Vendôme, was finally crushed in front of Le Mans, with an enormous loss of prisoners. One chance seemed still open to the French, and it was used by Gambetta as a last resource. He commanded Bourbaki § in the first weeks of January, to make a diversion into Germany. The object was to force General Werder to fall back from the siege

* Auguste Alexandre Ducrot (1817–1882).

† Louis Léon César Faidherbe (1818–1889); served in Algeria; Governor of Senegal 1854; he wrote several books on African topics, and *Campagne de l'Armée du Nord.*

‡ Antoine Eugène Alfred Chanzy (1823–1883); served in Africa 1841–1870; Governor-General of Algeria 1873–1879; ambassador at St. Petersburg 1879–1881.

§ Charles Denis Sauter Bourbaki (1816–1897); retired from the army 1879.

of Belfort. The manœuvre failed, for Bourbaki was checked at Villersexel by a clever flank move, which enabled Werder to take up a very strong position at Montbéliard to await the coming of Manteuffel, who had completed his work in the north. From January 15th to the 19th the half-starved and frozen forces of Bourbaki hurled themselves in vain against the Prussian army. There was nothing left but to make a dignified retreat, which Bourbaki did towards Pontarlier and the frontier. He was closely pursued, however, by the energetic Werder, who knew that Manteuffel was in advance of the French. Any possibility of success was against the disheartened force. The last effort had proved in vain, and on February 1st, utterly dispirited, the French army of 85,000 men crossed over the Swiss frontier "in a condition so pitiable as to recall the retreat from Moscow," and, according to international law, laid down their arms.

In the meantime the aged Thiers undertook a roving commission, and made an unsuccessful tour of the European Courts, trying to get help for his oppressed country. The victories of the Prussians made it very difficult for the Powers to intervene. The only person who was really anxious for intervention was Count Beust, who saw with alarm the advance of Prussian power. England under the Gladstone ministry was not likely, as Bismarck knew, to do more than offer advice; and the Prussian chancellor had taken good care to win the good-will of Russia before the war started. The repeated proposals, therefore, of the Austrian minister fell on unheeding ears, and the pathetic appeals of Thiers gained little or no encouragement.

The time had now come, however, to bring the terrible slaughter to a conclusion. Before Bourbaki had laid down his arms Gambetta had realized that the cause of France was hopeless, and on January 23rd Jules Favre met Bismarck for the second time at Versailles to discuss a general armistice and the capitulation of Paris. Five days later the armistice was signed, so that a national assembly should be elected to make terms. Even now Bismarck distrusted his foes, and before he agreed to the terms he forced the French in Paris to give up their forts, dismount their guns on the *enceinte*, and all regular troops were compelled to lay down their

arms. He also took a strong line against Gambetta, who wished to deprive all the officials of the late empire of the franchise; the Prussian chancellor, together with the government of Paris, were unanimously against this measure, and Gambetta, who had done so much for France, resigned. The actual elections took place on February 8th, and four days later the National Assembly, with Thiers at its head, was opened at Bordeaux. Their chief object was the terms of peace, and after a fortnight the preliminaries were signed. Something had been gained by the stubborn resistance. The reputation, as well as the self-esteem of France was in some degree revived. Alsace and Lorraine, including Metz and Strasburg, passed into Prussian hands. A war indemnity was also to be paid, consisting of the tremendous sum of 5 milliards of francs, or £200,000,000. It was agreed that until the actual treaty was signed the German troops should occupy a part of Paris. This, however, did not last for long, for on March 1st the German Emperor, with 30,000 men, marched through the Champs Elysées, and two days later evacuated the French capital. The final and definite treaty was signed at Frankfort on May 10th.

The results of the Franco-Prussian war were of enormous importance to Germany, France, and Europe as a whole. There can be no doubt that the war completed the work of Bismarck and consolidated Germany. The German empire was a direct outcome of the struggle, when the King of Prussia reluctantly consented to be crowned Emperor at Versailles on January 18th, 1871. France was strangely altered. She had entered the struggle as an Imperial power; she emerged a Republic. The war had engendered the fighting lusts of men, and no sooner had the German troops marched out of Paris than it was seized by the Communists. When the regular troops were deprived of their arms the National Guard had been allowed to retain theirs. This guard, composed for the most part of the working-class, paid no heed to the commands of their leader, des Paladines, though famous for his strict discipline. On March 18th Thiers and his colleagues were compelled to abandon Paris to the Commune. Government was carried on, at first by the Central Committee, which controlled the National Guard,

afterwards by a "General Council" elected on March 26th. In the south and centre there were other risings of the Reds, but none of these showed permanent vitality, and the efforts of the Versailles Government were concentrated on the reduction of Paris. In May, when the Council and the Central Committee had fallen into disputes, the Versailles troops attacked. After a week of street fighting and reprisals the barricades were carried and order restored with rigour. For the moment the Revolutionary and Socialist parties ceased to exist in France, and the old divisions of party reappeared. In the Assembly there was a monarchical majority, but it was not united and there was no general enthusiasm for Orleans or Bourbon. As for the Bonapartes, their popularity did not outlive Sedan and the dishonour of their third catastrophe.

Russia had taken the opportunity of repudiating the obnoxious clauses of the Treaty of Paris. This had been done by Gortschakoff on October 29th, 1870, though the bold move was probably suggested by Count Nicolaus Ignatieff,* the most active and skilful of Russian diplomatists. The Italians, too, had seized their chance while France was too much engaged in her own affairs, and had established their power in Rome, and the ancient capital became the seat of government of united Italy. From this moment the Pope shut himself up as a prisoner in the Vatican.

One remarkable feature of the war lies in the illustration that it afforded of the extraordinary recuperative powers of France. This power of recuperation is an ever-familiar feature in the story of the French people. No European nation has passed through so many political crises as France, but in every case she has recovered with wonderful vitality. Humbled, broken, wearied, and overcome, in a few years' time all is changed, and France is herself again. So in this instance, the indemnity which would have crushed the commercial and financial resources of any ordinary nation, was paid off not only by the time stated in the

* Nicolaus Paulovitch Ignatieff (January, 1832–July, 1908); entered the diplomatic service 1856; ambassador at Pekin; ambassador at Constantinople 1867; took an active part in the diplomacy of the period 1877–1878; was the chief author of the Treaty of San Stefano; Minister of the Interior 1881; dismissed 1882.

Treaty of Frankfort, but long before. Besides this, although thousands of her male population had perished, although she could scarcely register a single victory during those terrible months of war, nevertheless the militant spirit still beat in the hearts of patriotic Frenchmen, and within four years of the peace it was possible for France to place in the field an army of 2,400,000 men.

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CHIEF BATTLES IN FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

1870.	July	26.	Skirmish at Niederbronn.
		30.	French repulsed at Saarbrück.
	August	2.	Frossard forced Prussians to retire at Saarbrück.
		4.	The Crown Prince defeated Frossard, and stormed the lines of Weissemberg and Geisberg.
		6.	The Crown Prince defeated Macmahon at Wörth. Von Göben and Von Steinmetz victorious at Saarbrück and Forbach.
		9.	The Germans occupied St. Avold.
		10.	The Germans invested Strasburg, and Lichtenburg capitulated.
		12.	The Germans occupied Nancy.

CHIEF BATTLES IN FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR—*continued*

1870. August 14. Von Steinmetz won the battle of Courcelles.
16. Prince Frederick Charles won the battle of Mars-la-Tour.
18. The combined armies won the battles of Gravelotte and Rezonville.
20. Retreat of Macmahon.
22. Complete isolation of Marshal Bazaine at Metz.
25. Chalons occupied by the Germans.
26. The Germans invested Thionville.
27. Battle at Busancy, between Vouziers and Stenay.
28. Battles at Dun, Stenay, and Mouzon.
29. The Germans stormed Vrizy.
30. De Failly defeated at Beaumont.
31. Defeat of the French in the plain of Douzy. Bazaine forced back into Metz.

September 1. *Sedan.*
5. The Germans occupied Rheims.
7. St. Dizier occupied by the Germans.
9. Surrender of Laon.
10. The Germans repulsed at Toul.
15. The siege of Paris begun.
22. Sèvres surrendered.
23. Battles of Drancy, Pierrefitte, and Villejuif.
Toul surrendered.
23-27. The Germans drove back sallies from Metz.
27. The Germans occupied Clermont.
28. Formal surrender of Strasburg.
30. General Vinoy repulsed outside Paris.
Battle near Rouen. Beauvais captured.

October 1. The Germans occupied Mantes.
4. The Germans occupied Epernon and La Ferté.
5. General Reyan successful at the battle of Thoury.
6. General Dupré defeated by Von Gegenfeld near St. Rémy.
7. The repulse of a great sortie from Metz.
8. The Germans repulsed at St. Quentin.
10. Von der Tann successful at Arthenay.
Prussians repulsed at Cherizy.
11. Von der Tann captured Orleans.
The French captured Stenay.
12. The Germans captured Epinal, and Breteuil.
14. The French escaped at Ecouis.
16. Soissons surrendered.
17. The Germans attacked Montdidier.
18. The French defeated near Chateaudun.
21. The French forced to retire at Malmaison.
Wittich occupied Chartres.

CHIEF BATTLES IN FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR—*continued*

1870. October 22. The battle near Evreux.
Defeat of the French at Vouray and Cussey.
General Cambriels repulsed the Germans at Chatillon de Duc.
23. The Germans evacuated St. Quentin, which they had taken on October 21.
24. The capitulation of Schelestadt.
27. The surrender of Metz.
Von Werder defeated the French near Gray.
28. Le Bourget recaptured by the French.
The Badanese defeated near Besançon; the Prussians repulsed at Formerie.
29. The capture of Dijon.
The defeat of the Franc-tireurs near Montereau.
30. The Germans recaptured Le Bourget.
November 2 & 3. The defeat of the Franc-tireurs between Colmar and Belfort.
6. The French recapture Chateaudun.
7. The Prussians repulsed at Marchenoir.
8. Verdun capitulated.
Manteuffel advanced on Amiens and Rouen.
9. The Germans entered Montbéliard.
Von der Tann defeated between Coulmiers and Baccon.
10. D'Aurelle des Paladines retook Orleans.
Neu Breisach capitulated.
Repulse of the French near Montbéliard.
13. The Germans occupied Dôle.
15. Repulse of the French at Mezières.
16. Repulse of the French at Belfort.
17. The Grand Duke of Mecklenburg and Von Treskow defeated and captured the army of the Loire, near Dreux.
Successful French sortie from Mezières.
18. The Germans defeated the French near Chateaudun.
19. Garibaldi successful at Chatillon.
The Germans were repulsed at Evreux.
20. The French were repulsed at La Fère.
21. The French were defeated at Bretoncelles.
22. The Prussians occupied Ham.
24. The capitulation of Thionville.
The Germans were repulsed at Amiens.
27. The capitulation of La Fère.
Von Werder defeated the Garibaldians near Pasques.
27. Manteuffel victorious near Amiens.
28. Voigts Rhetz and Prince Frederick Charles defeated D'Aurelle des Paladines near Beaune la Rolande.

CHIEF BATTLES IN FRANÇO-PRUSSIAN WAR—*continued*

1870. November 30. Generals Trochu and Ducrot made a successful sortie from Paris.
December 2. The Germans retook Champigny and Brie.
The Grand Duke of Mecklenburg defeated Chanzy at Bazoche des Hautes.
4. D'Aurelle des Paladines defeated by Prince Frederick Charles and the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg; Orleans surrendered.
6. Manteuffel occupied Rouen.
8. The Grand Duke of Mecklenburg defeated Chanzy and occupied Beaugency.
Manteuffel occupied Evreux.
8-11. Chanzy with the army of the Loire made vigorous resistance.
12. The Germans occupied Dieppe.
13. The Germans occupied Blois.
14. Montmédy surrendered.
Frèteval taken and abandoned.
18. Von Werder captured Nuits, near Dijon.
20. The Battle of Monnaie.
21. Tours surrendered.
23. Faidherbe fought Manteuffel at Pont à Noyelles.
27. Chanzy claimed a victory at Montoire.
29. Mont Avron, near Paris, occupied by the Germans.
1871. January 1. Capitulation of Mézières.
2-3. Manteuffel and Von Göben forced Faidherbe to retreat near Bapaume.
6. Chanzy and Prince Frederick Charles fight an indecisive battle near Dijon le Mans.
The Germans stormed Daujoutin.
The Germans occupied Rocroy.
7. The defeat of General Roy near Jumiéges.
9. The capitulation of Péronne.
9-10. Von Werder fought Bourbaki at Villarais.
12. Prince Frederick Charles and the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg defeated Chanzy near Le Mans.
15-17. Von Werder defeated Bourbaki near Belfort.
16. Isnard recaptured St. Quentin.
17. The Grand Duke of Mecklenburg entered Alençon.
19. Von Göben defeated Faidherbe at St. Quentin.
General Trochu's great sortie from Paris repulsed.
25. Capitulation of Longwy.
28. Capitulation of Paris.
February 1. Bourbaki driven into Switzerland, near Pontarlier.
The Germans occupied Dijon.
13. The capitulation of Belfort.

CHAPTER XVI

THE RENEWAL OF THE EASTERN QUESTION

1872–1889

AN ESTIMATE OF SOME OF THE RESOURCES OF THE POWERS INTERESTED IN THE EASTERN QUESTION, 1873–1878

Power.	*Population.*	*Revenue.*	*Combatant Military Force.*	*Naval Officers and Men.*
England ...	33,450,200.	£77,130,000.	656,000.	81,500.
Russia ...	86,500,000.	£71,350,000.	1,790,000.	26,500.
France ...	36,100,000.	£103,000,000.	1,190,000.	28,000.
Germany ...	42,750,000.	£61,000,000.	1,250,000.	9,700.
Austria ...	36,000,000.	£43,000,000.	960,000.	12,500.
Turkey ...	28,500,000.	£21,500,000.	630,000.	uncertain.
Egypt ...	17,000,000.	£9,000,000.	uncertain.	uncertain.
Greece ...	1,500,000.	£1,400,000.	88,000.	650.
Italy ...	27,500,000.	£53,000,000.	870,000.	11,600.
Servia ...	1,400,000.	£700,000.	155,000.	—
Roumania ...	5,000,000.	£4,000,000.	60,000.	uncertain.
Montenegro ...	190,000.	uncertain.	uncertain.	uncertain.

TO all appearances the Franco-Prussian War had left France a Republic; but the Republican spirit had no deep hold upon the minds of the most important and influential classes. The majority in the Assembly were Monarchist in sentiment, but they were so divided into parties, such as Legitimist, Bonapartist, and Orleanist, that they lacked strength for the furtherance of their plans. On May 20th, 1873, the Monarchists made an effort and drove out Thiers, who as the head of the Executive had declared in favour of a Republic, replacing him by Macmahon, who was definitely pledged to the Bourbon Restoration. The Crown was then offered to the Comte de Chambord, but he, perhaps foolishly, but certainly chivalrously, refused to accept if the tricolour was retained in the place of the white lilies. This failure to obtain a king brought about the declaration of a Republic on February 25th, 1875. The Constitution consisted of a President, elected for seven years by both Houses voting in common; and a legislative body divided into two Houses; the first, the Senate,

THE BALKANS
Boundary in 1856
" proposed in 1877
" in 1878
Russian Army's Advance 1829
" " " 1854
" " " 1877
RUSSIA
Kishinev
Jassy
Bender
HUNGARY
Bessarabia
Galatz
Braila
ROUMANIA
BOSNIA
BELGRADE
BUKHAREST
Dobrudsha
Kustendji
SERVIA
Cetate
Silistria
Simnitza
BLACK SEA
Plevna
Sistova
Shumla
Varna
HERZEGOVINA
ADRIATIC SEA
Novibazar
Nish
BULGARIA
Tirnova
Shipka Pass
MONTENEGRO
SOFIA
Hainkoi
Burghas
EASTERN ROUMELIA
Philippopolis
Albania
Adrianople
CONSTANTINOPLE
ITALY
TURKEY
THESSALY
ASIA MINOR
IONIAN SEA
English Miles
0 50 100 150
14° 16° 18° 20° 22° 24° 26° 28° 30°
46° 44° 42° 40°
Bartholomew, Edinr

partly chosen by an electoral college, and partly by the second, or lower house.

The settlement of Germany was naturally left to the able administration of Bismarck, who desired that while the empire was being consolidated and its military resources developed, it should at the same time preserve a conservative attitude towards the rest of Europe. Most of the European nations had internal troubles. Communism in France, Nihilism in Russia, and Socialism in Germany, all threatened the old order of society. For this reason, as early as September, 1870, the German chancellor had sounded the Czar, Alexander II., and Francis Joseph, the Emperor of Austria, as to their attitude towards these disturbing elements. Two years later, in September, 1872, the outcome of these deliberations made itself apparent in a new Holy Alliance between Russia, Prussia, and Austria, to which Italy was admitted in the following year. The great object of this union was to endeavour to preserve the world's peace upon existing treaties. Bismarck was at the same time quietly working to accomplish the complete isolation of France ; but at the same time he supported the French Republican party, for he desired to bring about the downfall of that clerical influence which had been one of the main factors in causing the Franco-Prussian War, and against which he now found that he had to struggle in Germany itself. Bismarck's work seemed likely to be crowned with success ; by 1873 he had restored the harmony of the Powers, and there was every likelihood of the last years of the nineteenth century closing in peace.

Unfortunately this happy state of affairs was disturbed by the revival of the Eastern question. The trouble began in a purely internal change in Austrian politics. In November, 1871, Count Beust was succeeded by the Hungarian, Count Andrassy.* To Bismarck this was entirely satisfactory, for he had for some time thought that the centre of the Hapsburg monarchy should be at Pesth and not at Vienna ; but to Russia it was far from pleasing, and the Czar was seriously afraid that Austria, having been deprived of her position in Germany, might turn to the Balkans to restore her lost prestige.

* Julius, Count Andrassy (1823–1890) ; exiled from Hungary 1850–1860 ; Minister of Foreign Affairs 1871–1879.

But the Balkans were the very districts upon which the Czar had long looked greedily. In September, 1872, the three Emperors had a special meeting, and the Czar, who had been much alarmed by the advance of Nihilism, agreed to settle the Eastern question in conjunction with the other two. They forgot, however, that the national movement in Germany and Italy had aroused a great Slav nationalistic spirit, and that Pan-Slavism had not been checked by the Russian administrator, Gortschakoff, and since 1871 had increased very rapidly. In the Balkans many Russian agents had been preaching the new race gospel, and a vague unrest had been aroused. Amongst the Turks there was something little short of active panic, and they felt that they had been utterly duped by the European Powers. For this reason Midhat Pasha brought about the rise of the "Young Turkey" party with definite objects. They were to strive to throw off the yoke of the Powers and to arouse the fanatical spirit of the Mahomedans, and then raise the whole 150 million against Christendom. It thus came about, to put the matter in a nutshell, that Pan-Slavism was to be opposed by Pan-Islamism.

In the autumn of 1875 the peasantry rose in Herzogovina. The exactions of the tax-farmers and landlords in a bad season were the ostensible cause. Behind it lay the odium of the Turkish rule, intolerance towards Christians, differentiation between them and Mussulman opponents in the law courts, and peculation of local funds. By July the Governor, Dervish Pasha, at Nevesinie had failed to suppress it, and many volunteers from Montenegro and Servia poured over the border to join the rebels. The European chancelleries, alarmed at the extent of the insurrection, attempted to bring about a satisfactory conclusion by laying before the Sultan the very moderate demands of the insurgents. They desired religious liberty, the privilege of giving evidence, a fixed scale of taxes with absolute regularity of collection, and a local militia. On December 12th the Sultan proposed to give all his subjects religious liberty and to form electoral bodies throughout Turkey. The rebels, however, met these specious promises with the jeers and mistrust that they deserved, and continued their march on Niksitsh. The movement was beginning to spread; Bulgaria began to show signs of unrest, and Milan

Obrenovitch, Prince of Servia, began to have dreams of a new Serb Empire.

The position of Austria during this period was by no means enviable. All along her frontier was a people seething with disaffection; and her own Dual Government and possessions were only held and based on a mere compromise by which the Slavs were subjected to the Magyars and Germans. It was, indeed, this German element that was so important at the moment. Bismarck had foreseen that Andrassy would have to count upon the strong German feeling in resisting Slav hordes; and the Czar knew that if he attacked Austria to gain territory the German element would draw Bismarck into an alliance with Andrassy. He thought it advisable, therefore, to agree to work in touch with Germany and Austria, and together the three powers addressed a sharp note to the Porte. After deliberate consultation, on December 30th, 1875, the Austrian minister issued the "Andrassy Note." He laid bare the general causes of the perennial Turkish unrest; he then pointed out, what was perhaps obvious, that the rebels were very successfully holding their own; the Turkish promises of reform were declared to be far too vague for acceptance; and it was finally suggested that the Powers should insist that Turkey should carry out a reform that would last. The character of the reform was precisely stated: religious liberty and equality; the abolition of the farming of the taxes; a guarantee that the contributions of Bosnia and Herzogovina should be applied to local purposes under the control of the elected bodies which had been promised by the *Irade* of December 12th; the introduction of peasant proprietorship for the benefit of the peasantry. A committee, composed of Christians and Mahomedans in equal parts and elected by the districts, was to supervise the reforms, on which the Powers insisted, as well as those already promised by the Sultan.

The proposals received the assent of Berlin and St. Petersburg. The English ministry viewed them in a different light. Disraeli's influence predominated, and he followed the traditional English policy of supporting Turkey against encroachments. Considerations of empire pointed in the same direction. In November he had startled Europe by a purchase of shares which gave England a controlling interest

in the Suez Canal. The promises of the Sultan were considered by the English ministry as serious proposals for reform ; the Austrian note was received with disapproval, and England's assent was given in the most guarded terms. On January 31st, 1876, the scheme of reform was presented to the Porte. On February 11th it was, with qualifications, accepted. But the Sultan did not proceed further.

The insurrection continued to spread. The Turkish governor, Selim Pasha, was driven out of Bosnia ; and in Servia King Milan had obtained for his troops the leadership of the Russian General Tchernaief. Up to this moment the Montenegrines had only assisted by means of volunteers, but there were now preparations to interfere. In May some Bulgarians showed which way the wind blew by murdering some Mahomedan police ; and about the same time the Albanian hillmen broke into revolt. On May 7th the reprisals on both sides ended in the murder of the French and German consuls at Salonica, as they were supposed to have assisted in the rescue of a girl recently converted to Mahomedanism.

The Czar and his chancellor, Gortschakoff, met Bismarck and Andrassy in conference at Berlin. A common policy was agreed upon, and this was embodied in the "Berlin Memorandum" which was issued on May 13th and immediately forwarded to the other Powers. Its first stipulation was for a two months' armistice. During that time the Turkish troops were to be withdrawn from the country-side of Bosnia, the fugitives were to be repatriated, and the reforms, for which the Powers had already stipulated, were to be carried into effect. The sting lay in the warning, for want of which the Andrassy note had miscarried, that the signatories would secure their objects, if necessary, by "efficacious measures." France and Italy assented, but the English Government definitely rejected the memorandum. Lord Derby objected that the last clause would set a premium, in the eyes of the rebels, on continued resistance. The English Government, without making counter-proposals, dispatched the Mediterranean Fleet to Besika, an encouragement to Turkey which greatly diminished the chances of peaceful compulsion.

Before the "Berlin Memorandum" could be presented Turkey had been convulsed by a revolution. In April the

State repudiated its debts and the discontent strengthened the hands of the "Young Turkey" party. On May 11th they ejected the Grand Vizier and Sheik-ul Islam in favour of their own nominees. On May 30th the Sultan was deposed and succeeded by his nephew, Murad V., who, three months later, gave place to his brother, famous as Abdul Hamid II. The promises of liberty which inaugurated the new reign were lost in the tumult of indignation which had been aroused in England by the news of the methods by which an insurrection had been crushed in southern Bulgaria during May. Disraeli denied the earlier accounts, and took his stand on an exclusively Imperial policy. But public opinion, violently shocked by Gladstone's campaign, began to realise that the responsibility for the "Bulgarian atrocities" rested, in part, on the Power which had encouraged Turkey to resist the peaceful compulsion of the European Allies.

In the meantime the relation between the Powers had been somewhat complicated by their lack of unanimity. Lord Derby had signified England's disapproval of united action, and Russia knew well that to make a move entirely upon her own initiative would be impossible. Austria realized that a false step would embroil her in a war with Russia; while it was known that Bismarck would be on the side of Austria if Russia declared war. The difficulty was settled when the Czar came to terms with the Austrian Emperor on July 8th at Reichstadt. They there agreed that, if possible, they would both maintain the policy of non-intervention; but that, if this proved impossible, and Russia found it necessary to enter Bulgaria, then Austria in turn should be allowed to enter Bosnia and Herzegovina. By autumn intervention seemed inevitable. In the last days of June, Servia and Montenegro had determined to enter the field against the Mussulman troops. Prince Milan of Servia had the assistance of a Russian general, Tchernaieff, and his army contained many Russian volunteers. But, in spite of these reinforcements, the Turkish troops were everywhere successful, and in September Servia lay at the mercy of the Sultan. On the 14th of the month the Turks offered terms that would have deprived Servia of the last remnant of her independence. It was at this moment that Great Britain felt obliged to interfere, and Lord Derby proposed that the

status quo should be restored in Servia and Montenegro; and that local autonomy should be granted in Bulgaria, Bosnia, and Herzegovina.

The Powers presented their demands on September 25th. The Porte refused to give up the least particle of sovereignty, but was not averse to negotiation. Lord Derby proposed that there should be an armistice for a month, and that during this period a conference should be held at Constantinople, where terms should be discussed, and that if no solution could be found and the Sultan refused to give way to the demands, the Ambassador of Great Britain should withdraw. The Porte, on the other hand, very cleverly proposed that the armistice should last for six months, and at the same time suggested an elaborate scheme of reform which included special terms for Bosnia and Herzegovina. The brilliance of this piece of duplicity lay in the fact that it saved the Mahomedan army the very serious risks of a winter campaign, and that it might catch the wavering good-will of the Liberals in England. The Sultan knew perfectly well that the Powers were by no means in full accord. He realized that the Cabinet of Great Britain was most anxious to find any excuse for adhering to their policy of non-intervention. Lord Derby had already protested against the action of the Russian Government in allowing large numbers of Russian volunteers to join the Servians, and the Sultan saw that these volunteers had now become so numerous that they might be regarded as a national attack from Russia, and he trusted that Lord Derby would recognize in it a deliberate endeavour on the part of the Czar to bring on a war between the Russians and the Turks.

Alexander II. was well aware of the schemes of the Sultan, and determined to meet them by prompt action. On October 14th General Gortschakoff pointed out that the proposed armistice of six months could only prolong the tension, and that Russia was anxious to adhere to the original proposal of a month's time. On October 31st more definite steps were taken, when Russia's most brilliant diplomatist, Ignatieff, presented the Russian ultimatum demanding an armistice for six weeks. The demand was put in such a form that the Sultan clearly understood what Ignatieff meant, and agreed; for he knew quite well that Russia had commenced war pre-

parations on a huge scale, and that 200,000 men, under the command of the Grand Duke Nicholas, were concentrated on the south-western frontier. This ultimatum led to a conversation between Alexander II. and Lord Augustus Loftus, the British ambassador at St. Petersburg. The Czar pointed out that his ultimatum was due to the defeat of Servia and the fear of fresh atrocities. He showed, what was quite true, that the European intervention had failed to stop the war; but he thought that if England and Russia combined something might be done. He solemnly swore that he had no intentions on India, and that he had no desire to possess Constantinople. As an outcome of this conversation, Lord Derby, on November 4th, proposed a conference at Constantinople. A fortnight later the Czar accepted the proposal. The Powers, therefore, met to deliberate, at first without the Turkish officials, so as to settle, if possible, their own differences. They then submitted to the Porte certain proposals. They decided that several small districts should be ceded to Montenegro and Servia; that Bulgaria, Bosnia, and Herzegovina must have autonomy, and that a Christian Governor should be at the head of each. The Ottoman troops were to be confined solely to the fortresses; while the "Circassians" were to be sent back from Bulgaria to Asia. These measures were to be carried out by an International Commission supported by 6,000 Belgian and Swiss gendarmes.

The Sultan determined upon a counterblast, and on December 11th proclaimed the Ottoman Constitution, which was to consist of a ministry responsible to parliament, a senate, the members of which were to be nominated by the Sultan, and an elected lower house. Having done this the Porte felt that it could reject the proposals of the Powers. Savfet Pasha pointed out that the Sultan had now given a constitution which granted to all his people full freedom; that by the settlement of 1856 the Ottoman Empire had been given equal rights with other Powers, and that the Sultan's dominions had then been guaranteed. This answer was not regarded as satisfactory, and the Czar demanded from the Powers some evidence of how far they were willing to go to enforce their views. Great Britain was most anxious to avert war, and as a means of keeping the peace persuaded Turkey to make terms

with Servia on February 16th, 1877. Meantime the conference had been moved to London, and on March 31st an order was sent to the Porte insisting that the reforms should be carried out. In addition to this, as Russian patience had been exhausted, the Czar added an ultimatum.

The Turkish Government proved obstinate, and Russia, having secured the neutrality of the other Powers, declared war on April 24th. Alexander joined his army, and announced that he would wrest from the Sultan "such securities for his fellow-Christians on Turkish soil as were absolutely necessary for their future welfare." Army corps were immediately sent across the Pruth into Roumania, which offered them a free passage, and Prince Charles, on May 22nd, declared his independence of Turkish rule, at the same time leading his Roumanian force to join the Czar. This was a very great addition to the Russian army; for although, as was proved in the campaign, the Roumanian infantry were inferior in tenacity to the Russians, their artillery and cavalry were particularly efficient, and of the greatest assistance during the war.

The Russian army effected the crossing of the Danube on June 24th from Simnitza to Sistova and from Ibraila to Matchin. The soldiers were now jubilant, for they were on Turkish territory and imagined that they would carry everything before them. Krüdener, the commander of the 9th Corps, was sent to the right to capture the obsolete fortress of Nicopolis, which he succeeded in doing on July 17th at the cost of 1,300 Russian killed and wounded. He was then ordered by the Grand Duke Nicholas to occupy Plevna. This was not so easy, for Osman Pasha,* whose name was soon to ring through Europe, had recognized its strategical importance, and on the day of the fall of Nicopolis had occupied it with 40,000 men. He immediately started upon its proper fortification, and raised entrenchments from the village of Bukova to the Grivitza redoubt. The first attack was made by Schilder-Schudner on July 19th, and in this he showed a farcical inability to make war. On the 20th the main attack was made, but the Russians were forced to retreat, leaving a loss of about 3,000 upon the field. On July 30th the obstinate Grand Duke Nicholas ordered Krüdener to make a more

* Osman Pasha (1837-1900); born at Amasia.

determined attack upon what he regarded as a small Turkish entrenchment. In this case the losses of the Russians were more terrible still. Krüdener blamed Schahofskoy, while the latter bitterly assailed the former. As a matter of fact, Nicholas was to blame in giving orders from a distance to accomplish a feat of arms which he ought to have known to be an impossibility. The siege of Osman Pasha's heroic force was turned into a blockade, and three and a half months had to elapse before the garrison was starved into surrender on November 10th. In Asia the war was being carried on with vigour, and on November 17th and 18th the famous fortress of Kars, which had been so well defended by Sir William Fenwick Williams twenty years before, again fell to Russian arms. The Russians had been encouraged by their victory over Moukhtar Pasha at Aladgh Dagh, and hoped to crush Houssein Pasha with his 24,000 men in Kars. The attackers exhibited great bravery, and General Alkhazoff, in particular, led his men with heroic vigour. The Russians captured one of the strongest fortifications of the day, together with 17,000 prisoners and over 300 guns.

In the meantime Servia and Montenegro had declared their independence, and the Russians, having become masters of Bulgaria, prepared to cross the Balkans. They knew that the Schipka Pass was held against them, but by another passage they took the Turks in the rear and utterly defeated them on January 10th, 1878. This victory was followed by another under General Gourko,* who defeated Sulieman Pasha in Roumelia, and by January 19th the Grand Duke Nicholas entered Adrianople. The Russians agreed to a truce with the Turks on January 30th, and on March 3rd the Treaty of San Stefano was accepted by the Sultan. Turkey was to pay 300 millions of roubles in cash, and the cession of Batoum, Erzeroum, and Kars was to be regarded as the equivalent of 1,100 millions more. The strip of Bessarabia which had been ceded by the Treaty of Paris of 1856 was to be restored to Russia, while for its loss Roumania was to receive in compensation the Dobrudja. It was also agreed that Roumania, together with Servia and Montenegro, were to be recognized as independent Powers, the two last also receiving small additions of terri-

* Joseph Vasilyevitch, Count Gourko (1828–1901).

tory. Bulgaria, stretching from the Black Sea to the Ægean, was to remain a tributary State, but to be autonomous.

The treaty of San Stefano must be considered rather as an attempt to tie the hands of a future Congress than as an expression of Russia's determination to settle the Eastern question irrespective of European opinion. The approach of Russian troops to Constantinople had raised more problems than it solved. Early in February Greece made a desperate effort to realise the dream of a kingdom extending along the shore of the Ægean. Her hopes were rudely crushed by the proposed formation of an united Bulgarian State. Servia, Russia's ally, complained of the inadequacy of the reward; Roumania had fared equally badly; the Mahomedans of Bulgaria protested against the new Christian Government. Further west, Russia had more serious opposition to fear. Andrassy obtained a vote of credit as a protest against the neglect of Austrian claims in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In England the Cabinet had long taken a very serious view of the situation, and obtained at the end of January an additional credit of £6,000,000 on the ground that it would strengthen the hands of the Government in negotiations. In February the British fleet was ordered to enter the Sea of Marmora. By this time a general Congress had, in principle, been agreed to, and negotiations turned on the scope of its deliberations. Russia dissented from the view that the Treaty of San Stefano should be reconsidered in bulk. The English Cabinet called out the reserves, and summoned troops from India. Lord Derby's resignation, which was announced March 28th, is said to have been due, in part, to the proposal to occupy a port on the coast of Asia Minor, as a base for our operations in the East, with or without the assent of Turkey. Lord Salisbury, his successor at the Foreign Office, published a formal protest against the Russian claims. By this time, however, the efforts of the Russian Government to procure a separate agreement with Austria had failed, and the Czar was not prepared to face Europe in isolation.

With the help of Count Peter Schouvaloff * a compromise was effected, and the points at issue were referred to

* Count Peter Andreievitch Schouvaloff (1829–1889); head of the secret police 1866; one of the representatives at the Congress of Berlin 1878.

the Congress of Berlin under the presidency of Bismarck. This celebrated Congress met on June 13th and sat for a whole month. The empire of Germany was represented by Bismarck; Count Andrassy came from Austria; Gortschakoff and Schouvaloff were the Russian delegates; and Great Britain sent the Earl of Beaconsfield and the Marquis of Salisbury. Within a month the Powers announced that they had arrived at an agreement to which the lesser States of the Balkans had perforce to agree. The Treaty of Berlin was signed on July 13th. Roumania did not altogether approve the result, for the Prince had served Russia gallantly, and the people regarded themselves as robbed in the exchange of the piece of Bessarabia for the Dobrudja. The province of Bulgaria was divided into two parts. Bulgaria proper, which remained tributary but was to be autonomous; and Eastern Roumelia, which was to be ruled by a Christian government and have a certain amount of political freedom, but remain subject to Turkey. Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro were deprived of part of the territorial addition given them by the Treaty of San Stefano, but their independence was granted. The settlement of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with which the Czar had not interfered at San Stefano, regarding them as the care of Austria, was now handed over to that country, until the Powers should be able to guarantee them a reformed administration. The arrangements concerning the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus were left unaltered. Russia was forced to resign Erzeroum, which she had hoped to get by the Treaty of San Stefano, but she kept Batoum and Kars.

Contrary to all appearances, the crisis had been reached and passed a whole month before the Treaty of Berlin was signed. On May 30th Lord Salisbury had come to an agreement with the Russian ambassador in London. Bulgaria was to be divided; Russia was not to insist on retaining the Bayazid; England assented, in spite of "profound regret," to the incorporation of Roumanian Bessarabia in the Russian empire. In short, the differences which threatened war had been composed. The news was kept a secret; and a somewhat precise rumour which penetrated to the *Globe* was officially denied. Equal secrecy was observed with regard to another compact, almost simultaneous with the first. On

June 4th the Sultan had agreed to a secret convention, by which, in exchange for the occupation of Cyprus by British troops, the Cabinet of St. James's undertook to defend Turkey from Russian designs on her Asiatic dominions in the future. At the same time the promises of reform made by the Porte constituted England, in a special sense, the trustee of the Christian population of the Turkish empire.

Lord Beaconsfield declared that he brought back from Berlin "peace with honour." Apart from its domestic interest as a side-light on democratic government in England after "shooting Niagara," the affair soon appeared in less rosy hues than it showed to the plenipotentiaries fresh from their diplomatic triumphs. The Powers of Europe, and especially England, had become responsible for the fate of their co-religionists in the Turkish dominions. Those duties were not adequately discharged. Nor was it a complete settlement of the Eastern question. Greece, whose claims were not finally settled until May 24th, 1881, received Thessaly to the Salambria on the east and the Arta on the west, together with certain districts north of that line. But her national ambition was not assuaged, and showed itself in the threat of war in 1885, and in the disastrous outbreak in 1897. The newly created kingdom of Bulgaria was offered to Alexander of Battenberg and accepted by him. But the jealousy of the royal house of Russia, as well as the patriotic aspirations of the Bulgarian race, was destined to disturb the peace of the Near East in the next decade.

The creation of the new buffer State had at least the effect of dismissing the danger of Russian advance southward in Europe. But, for England, it was only transferred to the interior of Asia. In 1863 the Russian territory was bounded on the south by a line which started at Alexandrovsh, on the east coast of the Caspian Sea, crossed the Sea of Aral in a northerly direction, and then ran parallel to the river Chu towards the south-east until it met the frontier line of China. Since that time Russia has made steady advance. In 1867 the whole of Sudaria, and in 1868 Ferghana, were incorporated, and further advance was made in Transcaspia in 1874. No sooner was the Peace of Berlin concluded than an expedition was started under General Lomakine at exactly the time Great Britain was advancing

upon Afghanistan. In September of that year the intrigues of Russia with the Amir almost brought about war. It had been the policy of the British Government, inaugurated by Sir John Lawrence, to refuse to ally with the Afghan dynasty but to support a strong, independent State. Under Lord Lytton efforts were made to secure English predominance by direct methods. The demand for the admission of English representatives alienated Shere Ali, already a doubtful friend, and the news of the reception of a Russian mission at Cabul strained relations between the two European Governments, besides precipitating the second Afghan war. In 1878 the movement of Russia had been from the south-western ports of the Caspian Sea, the main starting-point being Tchis Klishliar, north of the mouth of the Atrek river. From this point the Russians had conquered the Turcomans, particularly at Geok Tepe in 1881. The brilliant leader Skobeleff * did not live long enough to continue his advances into Central Asia, but others built on the foundations which he had laid, and from 1882 to 1884 Russia continued to creep further and further south of the Amu Daria or Oxus. The Czar then occupied Merv in 1884. By this time Russia was very close to Afghan territory, and in 1885 she advanced to Sarakhs, which undoubtedly belonged to the Amir. This once again nearly led to war, but a peaceful solution was arrived at. Sir Peter Lumsden was despatched to arrange with General Zelenoy the boundaries, but when he arrived he found a Cossack picket at Pul-i-Katun, forty miles south of Sarakhs. The terminus of the Russian railway has been pushed forward and is now at Kuskh, which is strongly fortified and only fifty miles from Herat, "the gate of India." For the time being, however, the Russian advance has been turned on one side, and in 1900 Manchuria was occupied, and the question of the Far East opened wider possibilities and even more extreme difficulties than any which had arisen in Europe.

Simultaneously with the entanglement of the Powers in the affairs of the Turkish empire in Europe a development of the

* Michael Dmitrievitch Skobeleff (1843–1882); fought against the Poles 1863; took part in the conquest of Khiva and Khokand 1871–1875; fought at Plevna, the Schipka Pass, and Adrianople 1877–1878.

Eastern question in Egypt began to occupy the attention of England and France and, indirectly, of other governments. Its origin was financial. The fluctuation of the cotton industry, which had been stimulated by the shortage of cotton during the American Civil War, plunged the country from unusual prosperity into ruin. The wasteful expenditure of Ismail Pasha * had accumulated a burden of national debt. Year after year his administration became more despotic and more unsatisfactory. Under his government the "fellah" became more impoverished, and his life was one of continual and heart-breaking wretchedness. To raise money Ismail hit upon the scheme of selling all his Suez Canal shares, and Disraeli purchased these for the small sum of £4,080,000 in 1875.† Powerful financial interests in England and France were involved. The Cave Mission was sent out; then the Goschen Mission; and in 1876 Evelyn Baring, afterwards Lord Cromer, became the Commissioner of the Public Debt. Two years later Ismail was obliged to comply with the demands of the Powers, and a constitutional ministry was formed by Nubar Pasha, with Sir Rivers Wilson and M. de Bligueres as foreign members. Within seven months the old Adam broke out again, and Ismail, having intrigued against Nubar, launched once more on his career of despotism. Evelyn Baring resigned in 1879, when the Commission reported the country to be bankrupt. But the English and French Governments demanded from Ismail that he should restore their officials. The Sultan now determined to play into the hands of the two nations, and deposed Ismail by means of a curt telegram informing him that Tewfik his son had been made Khedive in his stead.

Following the deposition of Ismail the Dual Control of France and England was instituted. For two years these Powers governed Egypt and remained loyal to their engagements, neither side endeavouring to get the better of the other. But for all this cordiality their principles were different, and Gambetta fiercely opposed any re-establishment of Turkish authority. That this method, however, was unpleasing to the governed was evidenced by the "insurrection of the

* Ismail Pasha (1830–1895); grandson of Mehemet Ali; assumed the hereditary title 1867; annexed Dar-Fûr in 1874; deposed 1879; died at Constantinople.

† In 1906 they were valued at £31,080,000.

Colonels" under Arabi Pasha in 1881. To many he appeared to be playing a patriotic part, and leading a great national movement. The army argued that both Turkey and Europe were too grasping and that their tyranny was overbearing. They complained that preference was given to the Turkish officers, and that the native Egyptians were excluded from their national rights. Finally they urged that their religion was the only true faith, and preached a crusade against all Christians. Negotiations at Constantinople produced no effect. The Sultan had reason to view the operations of Arabi, anti-Turk though they were in origin, with some approval. France, where the ministry of Gambetta had fallen, could not resolve on a resolute policy. Elsewhere the difficulties of English diplomacy gave satisfaction to those whom recent aggressive tactics had offended. In May, 1882, a combined fleet appeared off Alexandria, but the French ships presently withdrew. Massacres and renewed fortification led the British fleet to bombard the town, and it was occupied by our troops. Arabi, however, was not yet subdued, and an army was sent out under Sir Garnet Wolseley. Sir Edward Hamley was left to keep order at Alexandria, while Wolseley and Major-General Graham proceeded to Ismailia. On August 24th the enemy were routed at Tel-el-Mahuta, and on September 9th two terrific engagements were fought at Kassassin. The enemy were driven back to Tel-el-Kebir, and here a complete victory was won over Arabi on September 13th. Cairo surrendered to a small force of cavalry. The Sultan lost no time in changing front, and Arabi was degraded and exiled to Ceylon.

The news of the success of our troops elicited a very general feeling of bitterness on the Continent, and especially in France. Criticism fastened especially on two points: our neglect to obtain any mandate for action in a matter which had been the subject of general deliberation, and the use made of the Suez Canal in the operations on land. It was replied that the criticism was not candid. Intervention was inevitable; the French Government had shown itself irresolute and our action had been impeded by the veiled hostility of other Powers; not our methods but our success was the real ground of complaint. The dispute, which had

its analogies in the campaign of recrimination and justification which has usually followed any aggressive movement of recent years, was merged in criticism of the occupation of Egypt by English troops. Mr. Gladstone had pledged his Government to evacuation, and was especially anxious to remove all causes of offence to France. But his hands were tied by circumstances. In the existing state of disorganization the presence of an English army and the prestige of recent success gave the British advisers of the Khedive, among them Sir Evelyn Baring, who had returned in the capacity of Consul-General, extraordinary authority, and bound them with a corresponding obligation. The finances were regularised ; the reform of the army and of the judicial system was taken in hand. For the present evacuation remained an aspiration.

Another, and a sufficient, reason for the occupation was to be found in the Soudan, where, in 1881, Mohammed Ahmed had proclaimed himself the promised Mahdi and raised a revolt which threatened to overwhelm Egyptian rule in that province. From 1877 to 1879 "Chinese Gordon" had been Governor-General. He has been described as the Bayard of the nineteenth century, the knight without fear and without reproach. But it is worth remembering that Lord Cromer knew him well and said of him, "He was hot-headed, impulsive, and swayed by his emotions. It is a true saying that he who would govern others must first be master of himself. One of the leading features of Gordon's strange character was his total absence of self-control." After Gordon's withdrawal the old vices and weaknesses reappeared and the Mahdi's cause prospered. Hicks Pasha was defeated at Kashgil in 1883 ; and Baker Pasha was equally unfortunate in his attempted relief of Tokar in 1884.

Early in that year General Gordon had returned to the Soudan. His official instructions were to report on the measures to be adopted for the security of the European population of Khartum and the garrisons of the Soudan. But he was also reappointed Governor-General of the Soudan, and, as such, was under the instructions of the Egyptian Government. On taking up his duties he formed the opinion that the Soudan should not be entirely abandoned as was the

intention of the Government at home. Lord Granville, the Foreign Secretary, was unwilling to complicate the temporary occupation of Egypt by yielding to Gordon's recommendation "to smash the Mahdi." Hostile forces began to gather round Khartum in the month of March, and Gordon considered it a point of honour not to desert his subordinates in the city. In August Lord Wolseley was appointed to command a relieving force, but its progress was gravely delayed. It reached Korte in December, but the exhaustion of the troops was very great. To hasten the rescue Colonel Sir Herbert Stewart was sent with a desert column, and fought the battle of Abu Klea on January 17th, 1885, in which the gallant Colonel Burnaby was killed, after making an heroic fight against great odds. Pushing forward, the column sighted Khartum on January 28th, but it had arrived too late, for two days previously Gordon had sacrificed his life. General Buller advocated the withdrawal of the force, but before doing so the Mahdi was again defeated at Haslim.

Soon after the Mahdi, who had posed as the Messiah of the people, was poisoned, and was succeeded by the Khalifa Abdullah el Taaishi. By 1896 this man had made the Soudan untenable, and it was found necessary to send out the Dongola Expedition, and that fertile province was won back by Kitchener and Hunter. At the beginning of the next year the Khalifa again made trouble, and part of his force was defeated on July 29th at Abu Hamed. But the great fight was reserved for the year 1898. Skirmishing began on the Atbara on March 20th, and only ended in a terrible battle on April 8th, when forty chiefs and 3,000 Arabs were slain. For a few months there was a lull, but on September 2nd the great battle of Omdurman took place. Khartum was entered on September 4th. On January 19th, 1900, Osman Digna, the upholder of the lost cause of the Mahdi, was captured.

The problems raised by the intervention of Europe in North Africa have thus received a temporary solution. That it is only temporary is recognized by those who are most competent to judge. Lord Cromer holds the view that to withdraw would imperil all that has been achieved. But he has also said that, "Our aim is not to rule the Egyptians, but to teach the Egyptians to rule themselves."

NOTES AND DIAGRAMS

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CONTEMPORARY EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

1873. The Judicature Act passed.
1874. Mr. Gladstone resigned, and was succeeded by Mr. Disraeli.
1875. The Land Transfer Act passed.
1876. The Queen became Empress of India.
Disraeli was created Earl of Beaconsfield.
Mr. Gladstone stirs the country concerning the Bulgarian atrocities.
1877. The Transvaal was annexed.
A Bill for the Confederation of South African Colonies.

CONTEMPORARY EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN—*continued*

1878. Lord Salisbury became Foreign Secretary.
Lord Salisbury accompanied Lord Beaconsfield to the Congress at Berlin.
1879. The Afghan and Zulu wars.
Formation of the Irish Land League.
Severe distress throughout the British Isles.
1880. Lord Beaconsfield resigned, and was succeeded by Mr. Gladstone.
Great agitation in Ireland.
1881. Death of Lord Beaconsfield.
The Irish Land Bill passed.
1882. Murder of Lord F. Cavendish in Phœnix Park.
1883. Bills concerning Corrupt Practices, Agricultural Holdings, and Bankruptcy passed.
1884. The Franchise Bill.
1885. Mr. Gladstone resigned, and was succeeded by Lord Salisbury.
1886. Lord Salisbury resigned, and was succeeded by Mr. Gladstone.
Introduction of the Home Rule Bill for Ireland.
Mr. Gladstone resigned, and was succeeded by Lord Salisbury.
1887. Queen Victoria's Jubilee.
Imperial Conference at the Foreign Office.
1888. "Parnellism and Crime" Bill.
1889. County Councils met for the first time.

SOME DATES IN THE HISTORY OF SERVIA

1718. A large part of Servia transferred to Austria by the Treaty of Passarowitz.
1739. Servian territory lost by Austria in the Treaty of Belgrade.
1817. The patriot Kara George murdered by Milosh Obrenovitch, who was proclaimed prince.
1832-36. The concordat regulated the relations between the Greek Church in Servia and the patriarch at Constantinople.
1839. Milosh Obrenovitch compelled to abdicate, and was succeeded in turn by his sons Milan and Michael.
1842. Michael abdicated, and Alexander Karageorgevich was appointed.
1859. Alexander resigned, and the aged Milosh was restored.
1860. Milosh was succeeded by Michael.
1868. Michael was assassinated, and was succeeded by his cousin Milan.
1878. By the Treaty of Berlin Servia received large additions of territory.
1885. War between Servia and Bulgaria. The Servians were defeated at Slivonica.
1889. Milan abdicated in favour of Alexander, and died 1901.
1903. Alexander and his queen were assassinated. Peter Karageorgevich chosen king.

CONTEMPORARY EVENTS IN THE EAST AND THE WEST

	India	America
1861.		The War of North and South. Battle of Bull Run.
1862.	Lord Elgin appointed Viceroy.	Battles of Shiloh, New Orleans, Antietam, Fredericksburg, and Murfreesboro.
1863.		Battles of Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Vicksburg, Chickamauga and Chattanooga.
1864.	Sir John Lawrence appointed Viceroy.	Battles of the Wilderness, Atlanta Nashville, Savannah.
1865.		The war ended. Andrew Johnson elected President.
1869.	Lord Mayo appointed Viceroy.	General Grant elected President.
1872.	Lord Northbrook appointed Viceroy.	
1876.	Lord Lytton appointed Viceroy.	
1877.	Queen Victoria proclaimed Empress of India.	
1878.	The second Afghan War.	
1880.	The Marquis of Ripon appointed Viceroy.	

CHAPTER XVII

EUROPE SINCE THE TREATY OF BERLIN, 1878-1889

Some Previous Important Dates in Colonial History

1779. First Kaffir war with Dutch settlers.
1783. The Treaty of Versailles, and loss of American colonies.
1787. Convict settlements in Australia.
1790. Quarrel between England and Spain over the affair of Nootka Sound.
1792. Constitutional Act for Canada.
1793–6. Capture of the French West Indian Islands.
1795. Capture of the Cape of Good Hope.
1796. Capture of the Dutch colonies of Ceylon, Essequibo, and Demerara.
1797. Capture of Trinidad.
1800. Capture of Malta.
1803. Capture of Guiana.
1814. Purchase of the Cape of Good Hope.
1817. Incorporation of the Bank of New South Wales.
1819–21. Settlement of 5,000 British in South Africa.
1826. Settlement of British in West and North Australia.
1830–33. Settlement of French in Algeria.
1832–42. Settlement of 70,000 British in New South Wales.
1833. Abolition of slavery in British Colonies.
1834–35. The Sixth Kaffir war.
1836. Colonization of South Australia, and foundation of Adelaide.
1836–40. The Great Trek: 10,000 Boers move out of British territory.
1837–38. The Papineau rebellion in Canada.
1838. Lord Durham appointed Governor-General of Canada.
1839. Occupation of Aden.
1840. The Act of Union for Canada.
1843. Natal annexed by the British.
1843. The Treaty of Waitangi, and annexation of New Zealand.
1845. Purchase of Danish colonies in the East Indies by the British.
1846–49. Repeal of the Navigation Acts.
1848. Acknowledgment of British suzerainty by the Boers of the Orange Free State.
1850. Constitutional Act for Australia.
1852. The Sand River Convention recognized the Independence of the Transvaal.
1852. Constitutional Act for New Zealand.
1853. Abandonment of transportation of convicts to Australia.
1854. The Bloemfontein Convention recognized the Independence of the Orange Free State.
1854–55. The gold-rush to Australia.
1863–72. The Maori Wars.
1867. British North America Act.
1869. Suez Canal opened.
1869–70. Riel's Red River rebellion in Canada.
1871. Basutoland annexed to Cape Colony,
1872. Responsible Government granted to Cape Colony.

TWO new features present themselves to the student after the conclusion of the Treaty of Berlin. The first is a very

remarkable revolution in the ambitions of the Great Powers. The eyes of all European statesmen are no longer turned towards the interests and dangers of the northern Continent, but great issues are now at stake in the vast territories of Asia and Africa. Up to the epoch-making Treaty of 1878, the chief ministers of France, Russia, Austria, and the German Empire looked only to the foreign politics of their neighbours. The statesmen of Great Britain throughout the nineteenth century had not done so, they had ever had a wider field of vision ; the horizon of their imaginations had been far more distant, so that during the Victorian era the British Empire had grown and expanded, while the colonial ambitions of other nations had either lain dormant or had never existed.

The second remarkable feature of recent European history is "the armed peace." Lord Beaconsfield returned from the conference in the German capital, bringing with him "peace with honour." Had he been able to foresee what such a peace meant he might not have been so self-congratulatory. For thirty years there have been no European disturbances, except upon the very outer fringe of the Continent ; but this peace, the legacy of Bismarck and Moltke, has been purchased at a heavy price. Every Power has expended annually vast sums upon their armies and navies ; and, at the present time, the burden is more apparent than ever before. National rivalries to-day are of the bitterest, and the strain upon the resources of the people of all nations is brought almost to snapping point. Peace there has been, but it is peace founded upon fear. The animosities of the great nations have not been assuaged. But their force has spent itself in diplomatic encounters, in moves and counter-moves, in forming and breaking asunder combinations of allies. Europe has been like a battlefield during a truce ; there has been no war, but the thought of war and its near approach has rarely been absent from the minds of statesmen.

The beginning of this extraordinary change lies in the struggle between France and Prussia in 1870—71 ; and in the augmentation of the unrest and unrestricted ambitions of certain Powers owing to the disturbances in the Near East between 1875 and 1878. The Treaty of Berlin, which was to give peace, was the beginning of another period

of unrest and intrigue. From that moment the "Holy Alliance" of the three Emperors was fundamentally shaken and began to collapse. The German chancellor at once realized the situation and courted the good-will of Austria. This, even before it was fully understood, led to attacks on German policy in the Russian Press, and these diatribes were answered with equivalent bitterness from Berlin. The fact was, that since the Treaty of San Stefano Russia had aroused general suspicion, and after the Treaty of Berlin the Czar found himself defeated and isolated in the Courts of Europe. It was then suggested that Russia should make an alliance with the French Republic. Long years before Napoleon had allied with Alexander at Tilsit, and it was thought that a similar spirit of friendliness might be renewed. Certainly for seventy years such a sentiment had not been felt in either country; but this was only natural, for Alexander I., after 1815, had been obliged to adhere to his self-created Holy Alliance; while his successor, Nicholas I., was always regarded as an ardent opponent of reform, and the Russians knew that the French people had exhibited much sympathy for the Poles in 1863. But after 1878 the desire for alliance was expressed with emphasis on both sides. Prince Gortschakoff strongly approved of it because he saw in such a union a very heavy blow to the schemes of the German chancellor.

Prince Bismarck had, in September, 1879, made a defensive alliance at Gastein with Count Andrassy. The Hungarian statesman was about to retire, and endeavoured to make the way as easy as possible for his successor, Baron Haymerle. The treaty was kept secret for some time, but when published the Marquis of Salisbury described it as "glad tidings of great joy." This sentiment, however, was not felt in Russia, France, or Italy; and feeling ran so high that in the spring of 1880 there was a fear of war between Russia and Germany. But three things tended to prevent this. Russian ministers found they had quite enough to struggle with at home in the mysterious Nihilism, "the most determined and ruthless embodiment of the revolutionary spirit." General Melikoff, with dictatorial power, did his best to suppress the movement, but without any great success. The proposed increase of the German army was another very serious item for the con-

sideration of Russian statesmen, and there is little doubt that this military expansion was "intended to make an impression on the European imagination." The only possible ally for Russia was, at the moment, France, and that country had ambitions of her own that would have embarrassed the schemes of the northern Power. After 1878 France again displayed colonial activities; and, on May 2nd, 1881, by the Treaty of Bardo, the French declared Tunis to be under their protection. This caused immense ferment amongst the Italians, who had both pretensions and interests in northern Africa; they felt that they had been tricked and despoiled. Riots at once broke out in Southern France, and conflicts of a comparatively severe nature took place between French and Italian workmen. At Rome the Cairoli Cabinet fell, and the "Ministry of Affairs," formed by Signor Depretis, broke off diplomatic relations with France. Peace, however, was preserved, but there was a final and complete rupture between the Italian and French peoples. The Tunisian campaign also illustrated very clearly the imperfection of the French military system, so that neither Russia nor Italy could depend upon so uncertain an ally.

The Italian Government turned almost immediately to Germany; but even here there were difficulties in the way of creating a really firm union. The Italian patriots still regarded Austria as their natural enemy, and still clamoured for the inclusion of the Italian Tyrol and Trieste within the limits of their kingdom. Bismarck himself was not so anxious for the alliance, for he personally disliked and distrusted the Radical Italian ministers, and he was no longer as ardently anti-Papal as he had been. He had learnt that Roman Catholicism might prove very useful against the increasing power of the social democrats in Germany; and there is every reason for saying that at this time he was deliberately preparing to come to terms with his old arch-enemy. He had been partially led to this course by Papal action, for the Pope had written to the Archbishop of Cologne very strongly lamenting the progress of socialism, and making a sympathetic reference to Bismarck's anti-socialistic campaign. The alliance, however, was bound to come. In October, 1881, the King and Queen of Italy visited Vienna with the obvious intention of throwing "Italian influence openly into the scale

with the Imperial allies." The Triple Alliance between Austria, Germany, and Italy was actually accomplished in 1883, and received the benediction of Mr. Gladstone, who had succeeded Lord Beaconsfield some three years before.

Bismarck was not as anxious to break with Russia as Gortschakoff had been to break with Germany. The great German statesman desired to preserve, if possible, perfectly friendly relations, but he found it no easy task. If he had placed any hopes in Alexander II., the Emancipator of the Serfs, they were dashed to the ground by the news of the Czar's murder. On March 13th, 1881, Alexander II. met his death after signing a *ukase* which might have ultimately led to constitutional government in Russia. Alexander III. succeeded his father without any clearly-marked signs of popular restlessness; but the Nihilists had to be combated, and this was done, by repression rather than by concession, under the leadership of General Ignatieff, who was placed at the head of the internal government. The new Czar was regarded as strongly anti-German and the champion of Pan-Slavism ; but behind this he was a great believer in peace, and he did his utmost to remove all occasions and apprehensions of war. It was this attitude and his clearly-expressed desire to enter cordially into the concert of Europe that caused the continuance of good feeling between the northern empire and Germany. All distrust gradually disappeared, largely owing to the visits of M. de Giers,* the successor of Gortschakoff, to Berlin, Vienna, and Rome, in the early months of 1883.

France, however, was not included in this good-fellowship. Up to 1882 the French nation had retained cordial relations with Great Britain, for it was Mr. Gladstone's purpose to avoid Continental entanglements. But after that date affairs in Egypt had tended to strain the *entente cordiale* between the two nations. By 1883 France found herself isolated in Europe. The Parisians had foolishly insulted the King of Spain, which drove the Spaniards into an alliance wth Germany. At the same time the jealousy of Portugal had been aroused over the question of the territories adjoining the Niger and the Congo. And even the pacific Switzerland

* Nicholas Carlovich de Giers (1820–1895); appointed Foreign Minister in 1882.

had been angered by an ill-timed military demonstration in Savoy.

The general success of the policy of Germany or of the German chancellor seemed to reach its climax in September, 1884, when the three Emperors met at Czernovitz, the capital of Bulsovina, on the Pruth. Here Czar Alexander III. and William I., Emperor of Germany, signed a secret treaty guaranteeing "benevolent neutrality" if either were attacked. The good feeling between the two nations was also increased by Bismarck's tacit encouragement of Russian ambitions in Asia. There was, however, very little likelihood of maintaining the *Dreikaiserbund*, for almost immediately trouble arose in the Balkans. Prince Alexander of Battenberg * had been elected Prince of Bulgaria on April 29th, 1879, and at that time had been under the influence of the Czar. But gradually there had been a revulsion against this Russian influence; and, on September 18th, 1885, a bloodless revolution in Philippopolis had overthrown the Government of Gavril Pasha. Eastern Roumelia was then joined to Bulgaria, and Alexander was proclaimed "Prince of the Two Bulgarias." The Powers protested, but nothing more. But Servia, under King Milan, preferred to risk the arbitrament of war. The Servian army was utterly defeated on November 19th at Slivnitza, and was forced to retreat through the Dragoman Pass. Prince Alexander then pressed on, and having crossed the Servian frontier, captured Pirot, and King Milan submitted after a fortnight's campaign. In August, 1886, however, the Russophiles of Bulgaria turned against their ruler, overpowered him in his palace at Sofia, forced him to resign, and carried him a prisoner to Reni beyond the Russian frontier. He regained his throne, but was finally induced to abdicate at the end of September, and was succeeded by Prince Ferdinand of Coburg, who was eventually reconciled to the Russian royal house. Greece, meanwhile, was with difficulty prevented from using force to support her claim to Thessaly. When, in 1897, a conflict occurred, the Turkish troops proved greatly superior, and Greece had to renounce her hopes of annexing the island of Crete, which was placed by the Powers under an autonomous government.

* Prince Alexander of Battenberg (1857–1893); second son of Prince Alexander of Hesse by a morganatic spouse, the Countess Hauke (1825–1895).

In the German Empire changes had followed one another with startling rapidity. In March, 1888, William I. died, and was succeeded by the Crown Prince Frederick. His death on June 15th, and the succession of the present Emperor, William II., was followed two years later by the retirement of Bismarck, who had endeavoured to insist on controlling the relations of other ministers with the Crown. He was succeeded by General Caprivi,* and the secret Treaty of Czernovitz was allowed to lapse.

Important as are the internal events of this period, the chief questions at stake are, in truth, extra-European, and lie in "the scramble for Africa." Great Britain had been interested in the southern continent since the capture of the Cape of Good Hope, on behalf of the Stadtholder, in 1795, and its purchase in 1814. From that time there had been everlasting difficulties; British statesmen seemed always to take the wrong turn "in the maze of African politics"; and their difficulties were undoubtedly accentuated by the ever-recurring outbreaks of Zulu and Kaffir wars. The Sand River Convention of 1852, and the recognition of the Orange Free State, are two of the landmarks of South African history. In 1877 the Transvaal, then at its very lowest ebb through misrule and native perils, was annexed by Sir Theophilus Shepstone. This important step was nullified by the unpopularity of the British Governor, Sir William Lanyon—an unpopularity which ultimately led to the first Boer war. Mr. Gladstone and his Cabinet would not continue the struggle, and the Transvaal was returned to the Boers in 1881. Considerable alterations in the relations between the British and the Boers were made in 1884, and for some years the Transvaal was under despotic rule. Between October, 1899, and June, 1902, the second Boer war was waged with determination and spirit on both sides. The outcome of the contest was the annexation by Great Britain of the Transvaal and Orange Free State, both of which have been finally merged into a federated South Africa.

Meantime Germany had launched upon a colonial policy in Africa, in June, 1883, when the territory Angra Pequena, or

* Georg Leo, Graf von Caprivi (1831–1899); entered the army 1849; fought in the campaigns of 1864, 1866, and 1870; head of the Admiralty 1883–1888; made a Commercial Treaty with Russia 1894; dismissed in the following October.

Lüderitz Land, was annexed. The British Government, after taking the opinion of the Cape Government, acquiesced, but became much alarmed when, on July 5th, 1884, the same fate befell both Togoland, with its chief port, Lome, and, on July 14th the Cameroons. British fears were still further increased by the French advance towards the Niger, and the Government of the United Kingdom hastened to recognize the treaties made with the chiefs of the district by the British United African Company. About the same time the question of the ownership of the territory bordering upon the Congo River aroused the attention of European statesmen. Great Britain had, in February, 1884, recognized the claims of Portugal, which raised a general outcry from the rest of the Powers. A conference was, therefore, called at Berlin, which sat from November 15th to January 30th, 1885, and settled the great question which had originally been brought before the world by Henry Stanley as far back as 1877.* The conference recognized the Congo Free State, and secured freedom of navigation and trade for all nations; the slave trade was to be suppressed, and the natives were to be well treated. In view of the complications involved in the race for colonies, it was agreed that only effective occupation should give a valid title to annexations; and the terminology of diplomacy was enriched by the distinction, drawn at this time, between acquisitions of territory and "spheres of influence."

The introduction of the new definition was only one of many things which marked the conference at Berlin as particularly important. All the European Powers except Switzerland sent representatives, and for the first time in history the United States entered the concert of Europe. This was, indeed, a very remarkable step, and it may well be counted as the entrance of the Americans into a wider field of politics. From this moment Germany made rapid strides in colonial advance. The German people adopted their new policy with the greatest avidity. In April, 1885, they seized the Continental possessions of the Sultan of Zanzibar. Four years later German East Africa, as it now

* Sir Henry Morton Stanley (1841–1904); by birth an American; sent to "find Livingstone" 1871; traced the course of the Congo 1876; sent to relieve Emin Pasha 1886; naturalized as a British subject 1892.

came to be called, was placed under an Imperial Commissioner.

To Great Britain all these movements were of considerable interest. The country, as a whole, felt, on occasions, the very greatest ill-will, but the Government always remained firm, and ever showed the most conciliatory attitude towards the rule and policy of Emperor William II. With France, too, there were difficulties, which have been overcome by the patience and wisdom of statesmen on either side. An amicable agreement was made in August, 1889, by which the relationship between France and Great Britain was regulated on the Gambia and in Sierra Leone. In 1890 a further scheme was evolved by which the "spheres of influence" in Central Africa were satisfactorily defined. At the same time the French protectorate in Madagascar was recognized; and the French Government was allowed to assume complete control over the Sahara from the southern confines of Algeria to the Upper Niger and Lake Tchad. In the same year, on July 1st, another treaty was made by which Germany recognized the British protectorate over Zanzibar and Pemba and abandoned her claims in Uganda; in return, Great Britain bestowed upon Germany the little island of Heligoland.

The newly-formed kingdom of Italy was not to be left behind in this colonial race. By 1880 Italy had become a Continental Power, and followed the example of other Powers in attempting to gain a foothold in Africa. In 1882 the Italian Government annexed Assab on the Red Sea. Three years later Massowa was seized; and in 1888 the whole of the coast from Cape Kasar to Obok was acquired. In the following year the Italians took over a part of the Somali coast, by which they came in contact with Great Britain. Any jealousy that might have ensued was dissipated by the agreement of March, 1891.

France during the period had laid claim to great parts of Africa, but had shown equal interest in colonial expansion elsewhere. Owing to the energy of the Cabinet of M. Ferry,* in July, 1883, a French protectorate was established over Annam and Tonkin, where the hero Riviere and Admiral Courbet had some hard fighting. This extension of the French dominions was recognized by China two years later. Thus

* Jules François Camille Ferry (1832-1893); Mayor of Paris 1870-1871.

the French approached, but did not reach, the British boundaries in the East. In 1885 Great Britain was forced to take action, and seized the territory of King Theebaw of Burma. The British ministers in doing this had counted upon the kingdom of Siam continuing to act as a buffer State between the Eastern possessions of the two European nations. But this position was not to last for long, as France took the opportunity of quarrelling with the King of Siam. The blockade of the Siamese capital by French gunboats led to a period of tension between the Governments of France and England. But, after negotiations extending over a period of three years, a satisfactory agreement was reached in 1896.

By these numerous colonial agreements the much-dreaded European war, which has hung like a black thunder-cloud over the northern Continent since 1878, has been averted. The cloud has not yet burst. The awful disaster has been at least postponed, and the most terrible page in the history of modern man has not yet been written. The ideal of an international scheme of arbitration has not been realized. Peace conferences remind Europe of her duty, but they serve also to reveal the antagonisms of national ambition. Yet, though the last thirty years have presented innumerable occasions for war, the peace of Europe has remained almost unbroken. It is customary to attribute the blessings of peace to the preparations for war ; and it is certain that the vast armaments of to-day need no other justification, if it be true that thus, and thus only, can the world be ransomed. But the armed peace, while it has preserved Europe from war, yet keeps her in perpetual jeopardy. The cost of national services towers higher year by year ; improvements in the arts of destruction are invented and adopted, to grow obsolete almost in the process, and humanity shudders when it foresees the hideous possibility. But diplomacy burrows out of sight in tortuous labyrinths, and the nations, deprived of authentic knowledge of their neighbours' temper or ambitions, wake from oblivion into panics of alarm or are goaded into the racial furies which are the relic of their evolution from barbarism. War remains no longer the business, but still the preoccupation of Europe. Pacific, industrious populations lie at the mercy of the statesman or publicist who

forgets humanity in the mirage of the ecstatic moment which crowns the victories of diplomacy and war.

If there is hope for the future, it rests on the growth of those forces which obliterate rather than accentuate our divisions. The commercial and financial interests of European nations are to-day so closely interwoven that war might prove the ruin alike of victor and vanquished. This danger and the growing urgency of social reforms and domestic needs may yet bring the nations to share the conviction that the common enemy, barring all the roads of progress, is war, and the blackmail which the terror of war wrings from us year by year.

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